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**“A life of any worth”: Life histories of retired Brandeis
University faculty**

Griff, Hanna, Ph.D.

Indiana University, 1994

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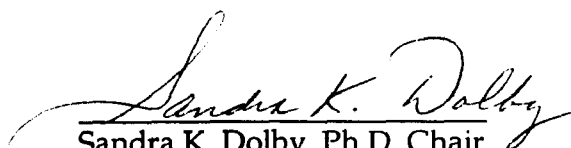
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**"A LIFE OF ANY WORTH;" LIFE HISTORIES OF RETIRED
BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY FACULTY**

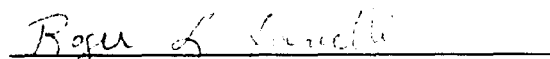
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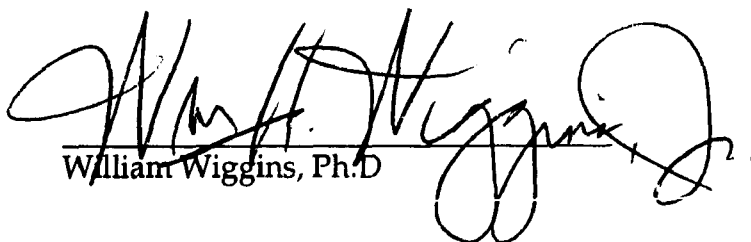
**Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Folklore and American Studies,
Indiana University
February 1994**

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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February 14, 1994


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c

1994
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing of this dissertation, like a good wine, was aged well. One of the main reasons I became interested in folklore was my love of people; friends, family and strangers and their life stories have always been a source of fascination for me and in my travels, I have heard many a good story and witnessed many a good performance. Thus, I was inspired to let go of the dissertation only when I felt that I had figured out a way to present lives told in a properly interesting and lively framework. I would like to thank the Brandeis professors who shared their lives with me; the brief time I spent with them gave me many lifetimes of good and interesting data and many fond memories and made the writing of the dissertation a pleasure.

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The past three years I was lucky enough to be employed by my alma mater, Grinnell College as a lecturer in American Studies. My former professors immediately embraced me and made me feel like a most welcome colleague, Al Jones, Joe Wall and Don Irving especially made my stay there

pleasant; Don Irving especially helped me throughout my first year, both reminding me and teaching me about the classroom mores.

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While at Grinnell, I had the pleasure of discovering the art of brewing beer, Craig Olzenak first ushered me into the mysteries of liquid yeast, hops and malts, and his high standards influenced me greatly. Paul Tjossem and later Leslie Lyons and Lee Sharp and I formed a great ale team, brewing many a fine batch of beer-- Paul and Leslie and Lee being the scientists taught me much about the virtues of clean lab work and accurate lab notes (recipes) I enlightened them about the value of oral tradition and liquid yeast and together we made some award winning stuff (I won a bronze ribbon at the 1993 Iowa State Fair). Paul and his wife, Paula Smith and their son Eric and later, baby Nora also deserve thanks for putting me up and feeding me after many a late night of brewing, as did Leslie and Lee.

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Preface

This dissertation examines the relationship between the individual life history and the construction of ordinary social life. In particular, it is concerned with exploring the ways in which a community of retired Brandeis University professors create, negotiate, understand and perform their lives and the forms of individual, social and cultural identity they claim as their own. The dissertation's focus, then, is not on the life history as text. Rather, I am interested in how individuals make up their lives and make those lives coherent through the telling of their life stories. Accordingly, I am not interested in the life history apart from its performance. In this work, the central assumption is that the life as told, complete with diversions, elisions, and references to genres of traditional folklore, has meaning only as a consequence of the manner in which it is told. Thus, this work will not seek to write the lives of these professors as if they were biography, or short story, or novel. Rather, the emphasis of this dissertation will be on exploring the manner in which the activity of making a life in conversation creates both meaning and art out of the remembered portions of an individual's experience.

Moreover, this work demonstrates that contained in these particular individual acts of telling are evidences of the manner in which the individual and the commonly social interact. The life histories that are the basis of this work will always remain the particular stories of the particular individuals. Nonetheless, they form collective structures of representation in which acts of self construction are transformed into statements of community experience. I will argue that it is possible not merely to infer that these

individuals share a Jewish identity, or a professorial style, or a common pattern of self-development, but also that one can observe the actual construction of such identities, styles, and patterns in the very process of life-making. Accordingly, this work seeks to place itself in the tradition of contemporary folkloristics that strives to explore the meaning and form of verbal performance not through the examination of structure but through what folklore studies do best: listening to the uses to which individuals put their speech in the process of creating "human communities."

Life history was an acknowledged source of information in both the social sciences and the humanities for many years but carried little status and was treated as a backdrop to artistic output. Life histories have been referenced and collected without much theoretical concern for how the ethnography was carried out nor how the data gathered might be used. The data was relegated to supplementary status, enabling the researcher to test other theories and implement other methodologies. But, recently, many scholars have examined the life history for its own sake, considering even the role of the ethnographer/biographer in the construction of cultural form (Myerhoff 1978, Langness and Frank 1981 and Clifford and Marcus 1986), as well as considering the informant's own construction. Not surprisingly, folklorists, too, have been interested in life history, because life histories bridge the gap between the personal and the social (Pentikainen 1980, Titon 1980, Degh 1987, Oring 1987, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1989). This dissertation attempts to bring life histories to the forefront of such narrative analysis, and to test the manner in which they communicate a vision of a teller's life within his/her times.

How I came to study the tellers of lives in this work is best explained by James Atlas's article, "Choosing a Life," in which he muses about how

biographers select their subjects. (1991) At Oxford in the seventies, Atlas was a student of Richard Ellmann (who wrote a biography on James Joyce) and remembers sitting in Ellmann's office. He wrote of the experience:

I would stare at the row of pale green Dublin phone books on the shelf behind Ellmann's desk and speculate what about made him so... Joycean. Outwardly the eminent biographer of Joyce could hardly have been more different from his subject. Joyce was, in his own words, "a small man, prone to alcoholism"; Ellmann was a moderate drinker and a rather bulky man, with a balding brow and a flat Midwestern accent that years of dining at High Table with murmerous Oxford dons had failed to mitigate. Maybe it was his effortless fidelity to his own nature that made him such a shrewd interpreter of others. Ellmann treated his subjects—William Butler Yeats, James Joyce, Oscar Wilde—with benign, avuncular tolerance. He noted, and forgave, their failings. Even the title of his biographical essays on the major modernists, "Golden Codgers"—the phrase is from Yeats—reflected his affection for the writers to whom he devoted his life. Ellmann was drawn to genius, yet was himself an ordinary man—the Leopold Bloom of biography (1991:1).

I feel much the same way. I have always loved and worshipped my teachers. When I was a child, I secretly hoped that my favorite teacher might move into the neighborhood so I could get to know more about him/her--since I somehow imagined that that teacher was so fabulous, so must be his/her home life. My parents had always urged me to become a teacher, but I fought that idea for a long time, mainly because I never felt like I knew enough to teach; perhaps it was also that I felt too ordinary to teach and was thus driven to continue my education beyond my parents' and indeed, even my wildest dreams. My father is college educated and my mother was a registered nurse. I do come from a long line of prodigious readers and have many schoolteachers on both sides of the family. My father's younger brother earned his Ph.D. in sociology; unfortunately he died when I was in my early teens, before I really understood what that degree signified). The idea of the

Ph.D. was an abstract one, with the **search for knowledge** being the lietmotif of my educational career. While preparing for my qualifying exams, I realized I would "never know enough", but I knew where to go for the answers, and thus started my teaching career, both at Indiana University and IUPUI (Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis). I discovered I loved teaching and found my students quite responsive to my classes.

In addition to teaching, I worked for four years at the Indiana University Oral History Research Center, transcribing, archiving, and editing transcripts. In the fall of 1986, John Bodnar, the director of the Center and Professor of History at Indiana, gave me a pile of transcripts from the previous year's oral history project on retired Indiana professors. "Do something with these. Write an article," he said. I took the pile and started reading and reading; their lives were fascinating, just as I had always suspected. These people had lived through the Depression, World War II, and the turbulent sixties and had great stories to tell about living through these times; they displayed as well the academic's candid and seasoned eye for reflectiveness and insight. A journal article would never have done them justice, so with the aide of Mary Dean Sorcinelli from the Dean of Faculty's office, and Joan Zirker, a free-lance editor, we compiled a book on these memories.

In the middle of the project, I had an epiphany of sorts: why not look at the lived experiences of history and contextualize these for a folklore dissertation? I had gone through many ideas for a dissertation, but nothing seemed to grab me until this. Once I had my idea, I had to decide whether or not to stay with Indiana professors or choose another group. I thought of working with Grinnell College professors (my alma mater), but I decided it best to go back east for a variety of reasons: my mother had been ill with

cancer since 1985, and I wanted to spend as much time as possible with her in Massachusetts. Also, although the lives of the midwesterners I had compiled were interesting, I wanted more, maybe more experiences dealing with immigrant life and/or being Jewish in the academy. Suddenly a thought took hold of me: Brandeis University is minutes from my home, is a relatively new institution of higher learning, having been founded in 1948 and thus the original, the early faculty would be likely to be around. Also, I could relate to them culturally, as had Deirdre Bair, author of a recent biography of Simone de Beauvoir, discussed by Atlas:

What attracted her to de Beauvoir? She was having lunch with her editor, she writes in the preface, when they began to "toss out names, playfully at first, until suddenly one of us (to this day we are not sure who) pronounced the name of Simone de Beauvoir. For me, it was something like those comic-strip characters who suddenly have light bulbs flashing as the word 'Eureka!' explodes above their heads."

What made the bulb go off? You don't put in ten years on a book because of a conversation at lunch. Was there some aspect of Ms. Bair's own life that found expression in de Beauvoir's, some autobiographical correlative? "I'm not looking to find myself in these people," Ms. Bair insists. "My life is too complicated as it is." The choice of de Beauvoir was "serendipitous." Yet her portrait of de Beauvoir's rigid Catholic girlhood, the proud, airless milieu of the French *haute bourgeoisie*, is so instinctively sympathetic. How did she do it? "A lot of de Beauvoir's childhood was like mine," the author concedes. She, too, grew up in a bookish middle-class home; she, too, attended a Catholic school. Never mind. These are "superficial resemblances," she stresses. "I didn't say, 'I'm going to write about someone like me.'" (1991:1)

Like Bair, I realized that I needed to be connected to my own American ethnicity if I were to succeed. I love the midwest; indeed, except for my first two years out of undergraduate school, I have made it my home since age eighteen. But I realized I needed a "culture check." I felt a little

uncomfortable about this choice; after all, as a folklorist I should be exploring the exotic. But then, colleagues like Bruce Harrah-Conforth and Robbin Zeff started writing dissertations on their own folk groups (the early rock and roll movement in San Francisco, environmental radicals) and so, I, too followed my instinct.

That, then is how I came to Brandeis, partly by force of circumstance, and partly with my need to reconnect to my own roots and frames of reference. Although the professors I worked with were not exactly like me many of them had grown up in secular homes, many with socialist and/or communist upbringings and some knew only the prayer book Hebrew or none at all. Some were Zionists and were brought up like I was in a very traditional conservative Jewish family and attended Hebrew School and continued to practice Judaism. Hence, their Jewish sensibility was not unlike my own and, in both cases, I felt that these were still my people and we connected on many issues.

Brandeis University proudly describes itself as a Jewish-sponsored, non-sectarian school; much the same description can be applied to the faculty. Irving Howe, a Jewish intellectual who coincidentally once taught at Brandeis, in describing his own Jewishness, expressed the philosophy of many of the faculty with whom I worked:

In the years before the war people like me tended to subordinate our sense of Jewishness to cosmopolitan culture and socialist politics. We did not think well or deeply on the matter of Jewishness--you might say we avoided thinking about it. Jewishness was inherited, a given to be acknowledged, like being born white or male or poor. It could at times be regarded with affection, since after all it had helped to shape one's early years. And clearly, it still shaped thought, manners the very slant of being. I knew that. But Jewishness did not form part of a conscious commitment, it was not regarded as a major component of the culture I

wanted to make my own, and I felt no particular responsibility for its survival or renewal. It was simply there. While it would be shameful to deny its presence or seek to flee its stigma, my friends and I could hardly be said to have thought Jewishness could do much for us or we for it (1982: 251).

This may read a bit like a paradox, but I have had the hardest of times persuading friends, colleagues, and families that this is not a Jewish dissertation, but a dissertation on the life histories of professors who are Jewish; thus, though there will be familiar tropes and references and cadences to their words, their lives, as told to me, speak more widely than their Jewish connections. My goal for this work is to portray these lives in such a manner that the reader can appreciate this richness as well as their Jewishness.

A note on the names and transcription conventions: all the names in the dissertation have been changed, in accordance with the professors' wishes, with the exception of Abram Sachar. In keeping with Jewish culture, I used typically Jewish names as pseudonyms. Town names, street names and names of geographical areas have not been changed. Any resemblance to the names of actual living persons is purely coincidental.

I transcribed the tapes verbatim and edited only when absolutely necessary. I use parentheses in the transcription, where the professors fill me in on information that they feel is key to understanding their narratives; I use ellipses where they pause within the interview. I use brackets where I feel it is necessary to add information for the reader.

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Chapter One

Introduction

What are you going to do with this? Are you going to have any objective material to contrast with this, to see where they diverged from the facts in their recollections? . . . In these particular case studies of yours, I don't see how exactly you're going to apply it unless you have some outside view of what the structure of the life was.

Nathan Alberts 1/27/89

Nathan Alberts, sociologist, and one of the ten retired Brandeis professors interviewed for this dissertation, asked me this question at the end of our first interview. Like the other nine, he gave me a pre-dissertation defense, curious to see how I, a folklorist, would make sense of his life's work. I tried to explain why I found the diversions to be interesting and assured him that the "outside view of what the structure of the life was" would be part of the dissertation. But really I knew I was looking for something else that I had ever and then only haltingly described to myself. Still, here of all places at the beginning of this work, I must describe it. What I could not completely explain, what I had discovered in my research, and what I will argue in this chapter is that life histories are much more than personal information played or acted out against a backdrop of wider, more important, more outside, more substantial history. Rather, as I will show, life stories as they come from our mouths in their often spontaneous acts of telling are in themselves, complexly structured, meaningful articulations of truth. To do so, however, I will first need to give some account of how the overall structure of this work will emerge.

From Etic To Emic In A Life Told

Traditional life histories (see Lawless 1988, for example) have made it their business to seek coherence. Committed to the model of adequate biography, they have attempted to make lives into stories and the tellers into characters with fully formed motives and personas. Unfortunately, the price for such coherence has been a loss of spontaneity and, more importantly, an illusion that a represented life is more meaningful than one under construction. Chapter Two will attempt to reverse this process. It will be a demonstration of how a life is performed. In it, I will present a complete transcription from one of the professors, Edward Shulman, with whom I worked. Then, borrowing from social discourse analysis theory, I intend to analyze my data as speech performance governed by an emergent cultural logic. I accomplish this in two ways and use a three-part method to analyze it:

- 1) A revision of the traditional manner of presenting folkloric/life history transcription.
- 2) A method of analysis that structures a dialogic relationship between my and my informant's words.

In representing the data, I have divided the process of the interview into three columns; and using emic terms rather than conventional literary terms, I illustrate how these terms work in understanding a textual study:

- 1) In the first column, I provide the flow of talk as it developed in the course of the interview. I labeled this column "Torah" (the Torah is the text of the Hebrew Bible read aloud during Mondays, Thursdays, Saturdays and holidays).
- 2) In the second column, Haftorah, I offer my commentary on the questions and answers, focusing especially on my own behavior

as it cues and keys our (the folklorist's and the informant's) developing relationship. (In Jewish liturgy is called the "Haftorah" which is also read aloud, following the Torah reading)

- 3) In the third column, Talmud, I detail the analytic communicative devices used by Shulman throughout the interview to construct meaningful dialogue. (the Talmud is the collection of Jewish laws and tradition.)

I used Jewish terms here because they seemed appropriate; as I tried to construct a way in which I could present the whole transcript, the more acceptable literary terms like exegesis and epistemology did not ring true. The more I read and listened to the transcripts, the better I understood the milieu of these professors and my own responsiveness to the very Jewish dialogue in which we were engaged. My aim thus in Chapter Two is to educate the reader in how to appreciate the life history and all that it offers. By using the Jewish terms,¹ I am letting the texts suggest how they might be heard and interpreted thus allowing their analytic mode to evolve from the ebb and flow of informant talk. In doing so, I am using emic comments which others could use, but as with most emic terms, cannot be replicated.

Sharing a Life, Presenting a Self

Once I have established the conditions for the production of meaning, I then proceed, in Chapter Three, to analyze the manner in which particular meaning indexes the features of self, group identity, and culture in my consultant's lives. First, I explore the relationship between coming of age and the development of self. By looking at the relationship of the life history and individual memory, I sought to obtain a collective representation of culture; these professors lived through the Depression and World War II and

were influenced by both through politics, opportunities, and personal choice. Devoting a chapter to these individuals' experiences enables the reader to discover the parallels in these professors' lives and hence to participate in the creation of a frame where they are able to interpret the background process whereby the women and men tell each other and share their experiences.

Having explored the parameters of self, I turn in Chapter Four to a discussion of the parallels in my informants' lives that allows me to recognize their histories as Jewish. Most of them are what they call the non-Jewish Jews, that is Jewish by culture, but not practicing in a religious sense. However, as the life histories take their course, the professors all articulate a sense of Jewish identity that is quite strong, if not easily categorized as Orthodox, Conservative, or Reform. This sense of identity, ironically adumbrates Brandeis University's credo of being the first non-sectarian Jewish university. Whether one is a non-Jewish Jew or a non-sectarian Jewish sponsored institution, the concept "Jewish" is present and cannot be ignored. Life histories and embedded personal narratives offer me one way in which to explore and understand these paradoxical terms.

Finally, in Chapter Five, because I am a folklorist, I examine the relationship between folkloric performance and the process of life history construction. Life histories have competence, coherence, and credibility as they are being performed. As a researcher, my elicitation of this performance helped to highlight and create an interpretive framework for deciphering the meaning of the histories they tell. As a researcher, I have always been fascinated with the inside story or backstage activities (Goffman 1956), thinking that if I could understand the inside story, I could become a part of the group. As this research progressed, I came to realize, ironically, since it is my chosen field, how large a part the forms and styles of "traditional" folklore

played in the cultural performances I was examining. Finally, the conclusion will explore the role of the reflexive ethnographer in understanding and constructing these life histories.

Folklore's Interest in Life History

Folklore did not become interested in life histories because their narrative form was intriguing. What was of interest was the possibility that the personal experience story, stories, or anecdotes based on real experiences, might solve the apparent decline of the classical genres, which had been the original targets of folkloristic study and remained the main subject for generations of scholars by producing a new genre for analysis (Bausinger 1958, Degh 1985, Stahl 1977). In looking at the personal narrative as folkloric and performance and as a part of the oral storytelling tradition, folklorists were able to enhance traditional genres. Most ethnographic fieldworkers discovered that people had a natural tendency to tell stories from their personal experiences and that such stories were plentiful; nonetheless they were not classified within traditional prose narrative genres. Rather they were simply assigned descriptive titles—coalminer stories, firefighter stories, family experience stories, commercial fishermen stories, etc. Scholar Charles Keil's cynical comment aptly characterized the situation: ". . . there is an academic imperialist tendency at work here, a mystification that turns every group's expressive life and every individual's personal experience narrative into grist for the folklorist's mill. Even if we calculate just one personal experience narrative per person, the planet's proven narrative reserves are staggering and the folklore empire will never suffer a scarcity of resources." (Degh 1988) Keil's candid assessment, though refreshing, misses the point. Where folklorists once dedicated themselves to documenting the last

authentic Navajo rug weaver, the last ballad singer or finding the lost chord (i.e., folklore as it lived), a focus on the personal narrative and life history freed the discipline to study folklore as it lives, to appreciate the lore of the modern age.

According to Linda Degh, a life history may be defined in many ways: told as an oral text or narrative, responding to a prepared questionnaire and interviewer; it could be the product of an intensive analytic conversation between folklorist and informant; or it could come close to spontaneous narration, where the folklorist tries to minimize his/her influence on the natural context and allows the informant free expression (Degh 1988). I would argue that it is a continuum of all three. Whether natural or induced, life history starts off as a question and answer session, as I feed the questions at first, conversation follows, then as the narrator continues and adds to the narrative, processed through inspiration, the narratives become self-reflective, occurring in any narrative moment. Stories then become nested in one another and the aesthetic quality of the telling becomes apparent as the utterances, full of longing and memories, become more and more nostalgic. Nostalgia breeds more memories and suddenly the life history expands, as recollection after these recollection flow in as tribute to a life well lived.

A Digression On Digression

In order to clarify what I mean by nesting, I need to pause and examine the following lengthy excerpt. I asked Samuel Katz, a retired chemistry professor where he was born. Listen as you read how Katz recalls the Boston of his youth.

K: I was born on Shawmut Avenue in the South End of Boston, which has long since been urban-renewed and I lived in that area, which was very interesting, until I was six years old.

G: Was it a Jewish neighborhood?

K: No (laughs), it was a mixed neighborhood: Italians, there were Greeks, and lots of Italians, Greeks and Jews and the Irish lived in South Boston, which is very different from the South End. Although the Jews came from eastern Europe, they're basically Mediterranean types, emotionally, so that the Jews, the Italians and the Greeks got on exceedingly well. The Irish on the other hand were a little different. . . . We lived in a tenement, what we called a railroad flat in which the rooms ran front to back. Now, . . . such a flat on Newbury Street would be called a condominium. In the basement there was a grocery, a green grocer and he would pile his goods out front. The floor above, there was an Italian grocery, dry grocery shop, where you could get macaroni, olive oil and things like that, and then I think there were some people and we lived above that and on the top floor was an Italian family, Di Giacomo and they were lovely. And I can remember when I was a kid, I'd go up there and Mrs. Di Giacomo was very rotund, would be making tomato sauce and she would put it on white Italian bread and urge me to eat it, assuring me it was kosher. We left there after first grade. I was the youngest child.

. . . When I was in the second grade, at the end of first grade, we moved out of the South End to Dorchester . . . I think that there was a desire to live in a more pleasant environment. It was misguided. What you had there in the South End was a bustling street. One of my earliest recollections is standing at the window sill in the flat . . . looking out on Harrison Avenue and it was—there was the parade of the soldiers returning from World War I, coming up Harrison Avenue, marching from the Dover Street area to the Chinatown area.

Well, it was an area in which you had these stores on the ground floor and people living up above and then there were side streets: New York streets so called, because there was Oswego Street and Seneca Street and Florence and another parallel street called Albany Street and these are Indian names but they are also names of Upper New York's towns. And one never saw a tree. It's not any different, in a way from Newbury Street, in Boston, except that it was pure working class.

You see, before '24, immigration was a big business. People would come from the Mediterranean usually, they usually wouldn't have to pay transportation. There would be arrangements between the shipping lines and the contractors and this country who needed roads

built, ditches dug and so people could come over and they'd work and they might work during the decent weather, then they'd go back for the winter with their money. And this is how people in Europe were supported, you see. So it was a tremendous amount of moving back and forth without any restrictions, but then this thing closed down. . . . So, my father bought an apartment house with a partner, a man who had also come from Jerusalem. There was a clique of people who had come from Jerusalem in the 1890s. They had left, his father had gone to Jerusalem in the 1860s from Pinsk. And there was, it's amazing there was travel. It's not amazing (if I go along too long, you can stop me) it's not amazing if you consider that Napoleon traveled to Russia with essentially the same technology that Alexander, two thousand years before traveled to India. So that the world in which we live completely changed from Napoleon's time. And so there was a lot of travel and it became very easy when there were steamboats. How my grandfather in 1860 got from Pinsk to Jerusalem . . . he went to Odessa and then on over. He's out there with his wife, they had four kids. His wife died. He went back to Pinsk, got another wife, went back to Jerusalem and then my father was the eldest of four from the second wife. And the family's still there—a distinguished professor at the Hebrew University, biologist.

But it was a hard life, a hard life. He used to tell me that he would walk from Jerusalem, walk to Mission Richon, where Baron Rothchild, I guess, had established the first vineyards and they would walk and work and they would come home for the Sabbath. They would walk barefoot carrying their shoes because they wanted to save their shoes.

He came [to the United States] in the 1890s. He was a teenager, got on a boat and from Jaffa, with a sack of oranges, a friend and one gold sovereign. And they worked across the Mediterranean. He saw Algiers. He said from the sea, it was the most beautiful sight he had ever seen, white buildings rising... He went to London. There they were welcomed just off the boat by Jews who had preceded them, who had become converted to Christianity and it was their function to try and convert these other Jews coming and they knew that they would meet these people. That is my father and his friend knew that they would meet these people and so they went with them because they needed a week's rest. And they got a week's rest and they told them good-bye and when they got on the boat, they went to Canada. And they got to Montreal, but their objective was to come down to the United States. As I repeat, no passports, no visas, what you needed to get through to the states, was a visible means of support—technically, the gold sovereign that they carried (laughs a little) to show that they were not impecunious. And my father went through with the gold sovereign and then he went somehow and sneaked it out passed the

gold sovereign to his friend and the friend came through with the gold sovereign. They came down to Boston. They met my mother. And he was a peddler. And she would not marry a peddler, so he became a storekeeper.

Now we moved to that apartment house (I'd like to go back and take a picture of it. I'm not sure I'd dare at this point, given the nature of the situation [inner city and dangerous now].) What it was—not that different from tenements but it had trees and it was a much more pleasant neighborhood. And we lived there for only one year because we, he was completely unaware of the neighborhood. And there was a railroad embankment behind it, the railroad was still running. It was on Geneva Avenue and kids would come down the bank, screaming, carrying garbage can covers as shields, throwing rocks and so forth. And we would fight. This would happen usually on Saturday, Sunday and we would fight and they would scream. And then, (described this to my father). . . and one day they came down and they were throwing stones and one of them picked up a railroad spike and hit me on the head with it, and it was a bloody mess. And my father took that very seriously and he said. "How long has this been going on And what do they scream?

"I don't know. I don't understand it." They're screaming and we're fighting.

And he said, "Well think and try to remember what do they scream?"

"Well, just some-I don't know what it means. Just Christ-killer. I don't know what it means. "

I had never heard of this. My father had come from Jerusalem and he was quite aware. When I said that to him, he said. "Well, we will move." He sold the place and we moved to a very nice Victorian house in Roxbury. Which again, is an area which I would not dare to visit now. Lovely, lovely little house, Howland Street. A street full of rows of white one-family houses--quite prosperous people, my father was probably one of the least prosperous on the street. Jewish neighborhood. Not far from there was a less prosperous Jewish neighborhood (Roxbury). Further up the street was the Second Church of Christ Scientist, which was very impressive. I live near the First Church now. So there I am in the first grade (this is going to take forever!)

(Katz 8/11/89)

Notice he does not simply answer "Boston," but goes back further in time to his childhood, not to mark successes or unusual experiences but rather to give me, the questioner, a real feel for Boston's South End, circa 1924. Katz is a fascinating teller; as he goes back in time to his childhood, the streets of Boston's South End come alive in his words. He is five years old and Mrs. Di Giacomo is upstairs cooking tomato sauce. As he builds on memory and sense of place, he feels it important, suddenly, for me to know more about his father, who had come to Boston via Canada and Jerusalem, before he continues on with his own life. This attempt at ordering, sorting, and presenting nests Katz's rich, full life in its multiple historical frames. I, in turn, present this and other longer excerpts throughout the dissertation in order to illustrate how the professors have woven meaning and identity out of memory and experience. Robert Georges in his note, "Do Narrators really Digress? A Reconsideration of Audience Asides," explores the importance of these digressions. Georges believes these digressions important for filling in gaps in cultural knowledge so that the audience will understand the story (1983). Similarly, Ilhan Basgoz in his article, "Digression in Oral Narrative," builds on this notion as he demonstrates that the digression can make the traditional story contemporary; change the meaning of motifs, episodes; express the worldview of the performers and bring social, economic, and political topics into the performance (1986).² By including these digressions under the rubric of "nestings" it is my intent to expand these perspectives by exploring stories triggered by other stories and utterances structure the remembering process by which lives are told. Instead of dismissing the excess stories as digressive or rambling, the listener can gain more depth and understanding of this performance of once discarded utterances.

Hodgepodge Theory

Rather than being an unwieldy mess of a story, Katz's narrative has coherence, structure, form, tropes and most importantly interruptions, which make sense when viewed through a re-working of Freytag's "pyramid."³ Instead of a rising and falling action of story, which life histories are not, we get nestings, which in turn lead to more nestings, as Katz unearths the memories and smells of his childhood. Such narrative motion with its odd mixture of idea and scene, memory and vivid image, calls to mind what Richard Bergman, another informant and professional anthropologist, ruefully described as a "hodgepodge." The hodgepodge begins almost immediately in answer to my question. Here instead of a pyramid, picture the "hochepot", the Old French word for stew, and envision the continuous layering and simmering of details as Katz's past is recalled:

- 1) Initial Description
 - a) Katz tells me where his first neighborhood as a child was
 - b) Describes the neighborhood lovingly, the people, the buildings
- 2) Memory triggers another story (an interruption)
 - a) His father's background, minute life history
 - b) How his father got to America
- 3) Resumes own life history
 - a) recounts his second neighborhood
 - b) encounters his first brush with anti-semitism
 - c) tells of his third move to a Jewish neighborhood

Similar diversions and triggers were noted by Elaine Lawless in the chapter, "This is my Story: This is Where I Came From," in her book,

Handmaidens of the Lord. Lawless writes:

Certain moments come to mind first, remind them of another similar day, a different moment. Their lives are a mosaic, some events more textured than others. Some occupy a whole block on the quilt, others only share a space with related times and memories appliqued done on top of

the other. Remembering lifts the layers. Digression is a religious pattern itself, woven like the coverlet's shuttle, forward and back, to reveal perfection on both sides. (1988:17)

Lawless is equally poetic as she describes the digressions of life stories, writing about digressions as "religious patterns, "woven" like the coverlet's shuttle." But this lack of linearity bothers Lawless. Witness her metaphoric dilemma as she transforms the motion of the shuttle into the more solid and formed quilt block; she is not unique of course, most people, including Richard Bergman, expressed similar discomfort. Upon my return for our second interview, Bergman reinforced these ideas as he told me what he thought after listening to the tapes of our first interview:

. . . I began to think about what I would like to do to resurrect for my own comfort, because I worry about loss of these ideas and memories and so on. I began to resurrect these things and I realized of course, I couldn't fill you in on my whole life, obviously. But what I could do is sit down at the typewriter and just, without any structure, without any plan, start anyplace and say, "I remember," and then go backwards or forwards, wherever it took me. So that I could build up the names of the people or at least the associations I had over a lifetime. Going much beyond what you want, obviously. Kind of an autobiographical hodgepodge. But to get it down, because I feel unhappy about not being able to recall things now and I figure if I sat down to do it, ultimately, I'd recapture the names and the places and what's more important to me is the sequence of events. I would start at my birth. But I'm not going to do it that way, I'm going to do it any way it comes to me. I may start with yesterday. But I haven't tackled it yet because it's a daunting experience to contemplate. But I may get around to it. But in thinking about that, I realized how episodic and incomplete this has to be.

G: I had thought it was episodic and methodical.

B: I tried, but in listening to it, in doing so, and in listening to it (the first tape) I realized that, I didn't say, Oh, my God, I forgot this! But I had that sort of vague feeling that this might have gone in here, this might have gone in here and then I realized I didn't recall these things in talking to you. And I might never recall them unless I did

something like this. For which I have all the time in the world--if I survive.

Look at this excerpt, embedded in here are the parameters of story telling as he says, ". . . I couldn't fill you in on my own whole life obviously." Why is this obvious, obvious to whom? And then he proceeds to give me the methods of composition: "But what I could do is sit down at the typewriter and just, without any structure, without any plan, start anyplace and say, "I remember." Bergman continues to describe what I call nesting and what he thinks is beyond what I want, ". . . then go backwards or forwards, wherever it took me . . . Going much beyond what you want, obviously."

Bergman is an anthropologist and understands his discipline's definition of a life history. According to him and other biographers, nobody wants all those details. Unbeknownst to him, he gave me a method and a name for what I do. He has dismissed all the back and forth and lack of structure and called it an autobiographical hodgepodge. This jumble is a folklorist's gem and it is up to us to make sense of the epiphanic scenes as well as the everyday moments as they appear in the interview. We must appreciate this oscillation and random telling as key to these lives, as one savors a stew that has been simmering for hours, producing a savory aroma within familiar surroundings.

Constructing Reflexivity in Life History

Recognizing the beauty of the hodgepodge is only half the job. Understanding of the dynamic process that emerges in discourse between the folklorist and his/her subject is just as important as Wilson Snipes in his article, "The Biographer as a Center of Reference" writes, "Each life-writer begins with problems of his own intelligence, attitudes, values, and feelings, his knowledge of the biographical subject and his age, the transformations

time has wrought, and the shifting perspective of history, the humanistic emphases of life itself." (1982: 216) One should acknowledge the fact that the folklorist is biased and that he/she has an agenda, i.e., materials, a set methodology, a certain method of interpretation. Thus, we get Leonardo da Vinci according to Sigmund Freud and Almeda Riddle according to Roger Abrahams.

Elliot Oring, in his article, "The Construction of an Autobiography," talks about the lack of all these considerations in previous life histories:

For decades, considerable attention has been devoted to anthropological methodology—how the "science" of ethnography should be conceptualized and carried out. In recent years, however, an interest in this process of ethnography has crystallized. Ethnography is presently viewed less as a prescriptive program for controlled observation and recording than as occurrences of talking and writing. In other words, ethnography refers to and is itself communication... Life history, therefore, is but one of the ethnological genres. To understand anything about the life to which it purportedly refers, we must understand something of the life history's construction. (1987:241)

It is therefore important to understand not only that in each interview context the informant's conceptualizations are different, but also that my background and personality influences that conceptualization at any given moment. My "obtrusive presence" not only allows these people to tell their individual stories, it also permits me to enter their allegory through the science of folklore. It is through folklore then that I can see that life history is a contextually distinct and interactive act carried out by the informant and the interviewer.

In the following example, my presence is very much a part of the interview. I did not attend Brandeis University (although one of my brothers, Marvin, did, as did a number of cousins), so aside from growing up

Jewish in Waltham (Brandeis' location), I had no real connection with the school, and I usually was met with a little initial hesitation when making my first contacts. However, in the following case, an agreement was made because I was Hanna Griff, daughter of Bessie Simansky Griff and Harris Griff of Griff Furniture, Inc.

In the summer of 1989, I mainly conducted follow-up interviews from fieldwork which had taken place earlier in the year. I had lamented the fact to one of my informants that I did not have any scientists in my study. I was immediately supplied with two names, one of which I recognized, Edward Shulman, a physicist, whose family had been very close to mother's in Portland, Maine.

I called Dr. Shulman to arrange for an interview:

H: Hello, Dr. Shulman, my name is Hanna Griff and I am a folklore student at Indiana University. I'm doing my dissertation on the life histories of retired faculty at Brandeis University, and I was wondering if you would like to participate in the study?"

"Are you of the Griff family?" he asked, very warmly.

"Yes, I am, I'm Harris Griff's daughter. Bessie is my mother."

"Well, " he said, "for the daughter of Bessie and Harris, how can I refuse? . . . Now what are you doing?"

I explained my thesis to him and he seemed interested and we set a date for a meeting. Then, he asked me, "Are you still Jewish?" I smiled to myself, since this question had come up more than once during my fieldwork. Although Brandeis is a Jewish-sponsored university, most of my informants were not religiously bound to the faith, and thus became part of what is known as the non-Jewish Jews. The question from Shulman was especially noted because my grandfather had been a Talmudic scholar, *shohet*,⁴ *mohel*,⁵ Zionist and a well respected intellectual (in fact, a companion of Shulman's

father) in Portland, Maine. I replied, "Well, as best as I can be, not as observant as some, but I still practice." "Oh," he said, with a little disappointment in his voice. We set a date for the next day.

Still, I was pleased about his warm response and bemused about his reaction to my response to his question. I felt that he expected more from me, as the granddaughter of Harry Simansky, and looked forward to our meeting the next day.

I met him the next day. He was very pleasant and as he was ushering me into his office, he pointed to this huge, comfortable recliner and said to me:

"Your father and this thing saved my life. About ten years ago I had a heart attack and I needed lots of rest. As a physicist, I run experiments 'round the clock and could not afford to go home a lot and rest. I called up your father and told him what I wanted and he delivered this to me. It is so comfortable, I ordered another one for the house.' He's a great man, your father."

I smiled and nodded my head, momentarily struck by the addition of my father as a third participant in the interview. We took our seats, with the recliner in the middle of our cozy circle, holding my tape recorder. Shulman told me he was born in 1920 in Portland, Maine, of Russian immigrants, and then he said to me:

"You know that Shalom Aleichem story about the two men in Poland who meet on a train and one of them says, 'Where are you from?' (Shulman said in an aside to me), 'You understand Yiddish?' A little. Oh, OK (again, he seemed a little disappointed). OK, I'll give you a translation: He says, 'I come from Kosrilevke.' What kind of town is it? He says, 'Well, there are about thirty-five Jewish families, we have two synagogues. It's really very nice. So, how many non-Jewish families? 'Well, we have a mayor, a chief of police and a tax collector—Three non-Jewish families. So, the second one says to the first, 'Where are you from?' He says, 'I'm from Warsaw.' He, [the second one] says: 'That's a famous place. I've heard of it. How many Jews do you have there?' 'Oh, about a half a million.' He said, 'Half a million Jews! I can't even

imagine it. "How many non-Jewish families?" "About a million people." He said, "What do you need so many *goyim* for?"

Both Shulman and I laughed good and hard at that story. And then he added, "That's how I felt about Portland. We had about three hundred Jewish families and the rest were there to provide services for us."

I well understood Shulman's last comment and appreciated his tale, both as a folklorist, and someone who appreciated Portland through family experience. Sandra Dolby Stahl, in her book **Literary Folkloristics and the Personal Narrative**, writes about the responsibility of the listener ". . . to be moved, to respond." She continues,

The knowledge one gains as a listener when personal narratives are being told brings with it the sensation of intimacy, our feeling that the telling and the listening are an exclusive exchange where we come very close to seeing each other's reality. The successful teller of personal narratives engages the listener in an adventure--not simply the plot of a story, but rather the shared activity of exploring the teller's world, the teller's identity. (1989:x)

Shulman proceeded to be a delightful tour guide through his life history. He had a keen memory and was very personable. He had allowed me to see his life with his eyes, not only by agreeing to participate, but by voicing his approval of both my parents and thus of me.

It is moments like these that I hold on to and write about because life histories are stories about peoples' lives. Thus, the very nature of writing about them must respect the tones of the ethnography, which involves a certain amount of intimacy and self-reflexivity which prevail and which can be fraught with anxiety as Vincent Crapanzano has recognized:

Unfortunately, even the best methodology can, unconsciously and abusively, be used as... an anxiety numbing device—and when so used, produces scientific 'results' which smell of the morgue and are almost irrelevant in terms of living reality. (1977: 69)

In writing about the life histories of these faculty, the "smell of the morgue" and distance between myself and these individuals is something I hope to avoid. Instead, I have sought to adhere to the dicta of James Clifford, who in his book co-edited with George E. Marcus, **Writing Culture**, argues:

Various sophisticated and naive, confessional and analytic, these accounts provide an important forum for the discussion of a wide range of issues, epistemological, existential, and political. The discourse of the cultural analyst can no longer be that of the "experienced" observer, describing and interpreting custom. Ethnographic experience and the participant-observation ideal are shown to be problematic. . . . The ethnographer, a character in a fiction, is at center stage. He or she can speak of previously "irrelevant" topics: violence and desire, confusions, struggles and economic transactions with informants. These matters (long discussed informally within the discipline) have moved away from the margins of ethnography, to be seen as constitutive, inescapable. (1986: 14)

The very act of studying life history as a folklorist is necessarily interactive. Dolby Stahl calls for a responsible listener who is moved and responds; Oring and Marcus and Clifford acknowledge and even demand the ethnographer's presence. Thus, I feel compelled to let readers know who is setting up and now writing this dissertation.

The Author Introduces Herself

In August of 1989, I drove down to Eastham, a town at the elbow of Cape Cod, a two-hour ride from Waltham. It was a gorgeous summer day and I couldn't wait for the interview to be over so I could take a swim in the ocean. I knocked on the open door and a voice called out,

"Is that you, Hanna? I hope you brought your bathing suit, I forgot to tell you on the phone."

"Yes, I did, " I replied.

"Good, good, get into it now, because it's high tide now and unless you jump in now, you'll never get a swim in after our interview." Dr. Bloch was at the door now, smiling, as she let me in.

I didn't need a second invitation; I didn't pause to think of being unprofessional. I dropped my tape recorder on a chair, grabbed my suit and changed, and climbed down to the beach with Bloch. "Aren't you coming in?" I asked, noticing she was wearing shorts.

No, I must take the water temperature for the authorities, it's part of some new kind of monitoring procedure. Besides, I took a dip earlier. Take your time."

Needing no further encouragement, I plunged right in, the water was beautiful and felt great after my long drive. I paddled around for about 45 minutes, thinking to myself, "Does everyone have such a good time on an interview?" I finally pulled myself out of the water, and, remembering my mission, I returned to the house, took a shower, dressed, and proceeded to have an informative and enjoyable interview on the deck of her house, overlooking the water and horizon, sipping cranberry juice and munching on cookies.

"Anything else you'd like to add?" I asked after two hours.

She laughed, shook her head and emphatically said, "No! I feel **squeezed** dry!" and laughed some more.

In retrospect, context was very crucial in understanding Bloch's life because it really influenced the quality of her narrative. The night before this particular interview, I listened to my tape of the first one, done in 1988, a year earlier almost exactly to the day, and although Professor Bloch was very warm and there was much laughter, I felt that the interview was perfunctory. Although I made it a practice to see most people more than once, most first

interviews had been less formal and full of anecdotes and for the most part, uninhibited, allowing me to see the connection between life and the individual's history. Bloch was not as free, and then I remembered that after that first interview, we shut off the tape and we both went swimming and talked for a long time during and after the swim. She was very interested in folklore and the work I had done earlier that summer at the 1988 Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C. I was full of questions, as well, regarding the overcrowding of Cape Cod. Until the summer of 1987, I had not been to the Cape for over ten years, and I was amazed and dismayed at the constant traffic, and overbuilding along the shore. I itched to switch on the tape recorder then, but could not. But the bonds established that summer overlapped into the next, from the warm hello and the initial invitation to swim, to the more relaxed second interview.

I should add here, that I brought my swimsuit both times, without Bloch's reminder or invitation. I love the ocean, having been brought up in Waltham, not far from the shore, and for the first four years of my life, visiting grandparents in Maine constantly. They lived in Portland, right on the shore. Swimming in the ocean is an obvious extension of my life. Going to graduate school in the Midwest feels oppressive in the summer, with no ocean to refresh me, a gripe I have shared with other friends of mine who also grew up near the ocean. When I made appointments with Bloch and others who had retired on the Cape, I made mental notes to pack a swimsuit, knowing I would find somewhere to swim. This love of the water and its environs truly helped me appreciate Bloch's world more and made our last interview as enjoyable and rich as possible. In fact, towards the end of the latest interview, when I asked Bloch why she moved to the Cape, I discovered she had the same feelings I did about the ocean scape:

I wanted to be by the ocean. By the time I was in Chicago and everyone predicted I would end my days in Chicago, I said, 'No, I want to go to one ocean or another, east or west. . . I wasn't determined to be on Cape Cod, I was determined to be on an ocean (laughs).

"Where did that come from?" I asked, (knowing she had been born in Jena, a town in the interior of Germany and had grown up there and in Stuttgart until World War II).

"I don't know, I have no idea, it's certainly not in my background," she replied.

Although I knew we shared the same sentiments about the ocean, I had asked the question deliberately, knowing she would bring up her early life as being as far removed from the East Coast as possible. As stated earlier, this was taking place at the end of the interview, and I still hadn't gotten her to talk about leaving Germany. I knew that from our first interview she and her family had been refugees from Hitler's Germany, and that her father had been in a concentration camp. But that's all I knew, and no details had been given. Knowing this was obviously a sensitive area, I was not going to press for details unless she wanted to give them to me. So, given this slight lead in, I asked her about Germany and her family's escape.

Most of my other informants were politically active in their early years and had told me very interesting narratives concerning leftist politics and World War II. Bloch had not. In fact, her political adventures did not start until she left teaching in the '70s. She is very involved with environmental conservation on Cape Cod and in town politics. She told me, "In 1933 when other people immigrated to the United States, we emmigrated to Stuttgart. So you know, I come quite honestly by my lack of political perspicacity," and she laughed. This line haunted me and pleased me at the same time. During our first interview, I had asked many question about the War and politics and had gotten little response. The second interview, having been more relaxed and

finding out we had many ideas in common, she handed me this gem. And I view it as such, as it helps me put her life in proper perspective, noting as Oring does, that there are secrets (whether conscious or not) to be uncovered in the course of the interview, although these secrets are not necessarily deliberate concealments. As folklorists we are supposed to employ various techniques in questioning in order to minimize ego defenses such as using euphemisms, indirection or face saving phraseology. Another technique Oring mentions, is to phrase the question in order to overpower defenses, for example, ". . . assuming the lowest valued behavior of the informant and placing the burden of denial upon him." (1987: 245) It is the very act of the life history interview, then, the elicitation that becomes a useful and necessary tool in looking at a person's life. I was curious about Bloch's feelings regarding the War and her family's experience. Clearly, she did not want to talk about it, and I was not going to push her, so when she uttered, "So you know, I come quite honestly by my lack of political perspicacity," I accepted it as her description of her life at that time and ended the interview there. I did not probe about her experiences with the Holocaust. I am not that kind of folklorist. Morally, and in keeping with Marcus and Clifford, I do not want to hear what my informants don't want to tell me. This final freedom occurs when an ethnographer refuses to transgress the informant's boundaries. This was her life and I strongly felt it was my task to help her re-collect herself and not to acquire facts. I am the fieldworker who looks for the informant's worldview; remember I brought my swimsuit and swam before the interview. For me, the interview is about trust, it is not an interrogation.

Who To Be If One Will Not Be Ivanov or The Inspector

When constructing a life history, then, it is important and crucial to write about moments like these and be honest and open about the role of the interviewer. Snipes goes on to suggest that a theory of biography begin with the center of reference that biographers use in life-writing. He defines a center of reference as ". . . a starting point, a perspective, a way of literally and metaphorically looking at something, a way of holding on to actuality. (Snipes, 1982) As folklorists we all know about the science of ethnography, but not so much about how the interviews are actually carried out. We should engage in what Robert Borofsky calls the "archeology of ethnography." (1987) We should examine the aftermath of ethnographies, the field notes, journals, publications, manuscripts and memories of the field in order to develop a more sensitive understanding of not only of the people we study, but of our own constructions about them. In recognizing this interactive aspect of life history, I feel obligated to present my background and why I chose Brandeis University's retired faculty as the basis for my study.

I grew up in Waltham, Massachusetts (twelve miles west of Boston), the third of four children (two older brothers and a younger sister). My father continues the family tradition of running Griff Furniture (a trip to the furniture store would enhance anyone's understanding of hodgepodge as rocking chairs and sofas and footstools are piled high-- no showrooms here), which was started by my grandparents in 1910. It is located on Moody Street, the main business street in the city. He holds a BA in economics from Boston University and attended two years of law school before joining the Air Force after Pearl Harbor. In fact his life closely parallels my subjects for the study. My mother was a registered nurse, having received her RN from the Beth Israel Hospital in Boston, a second lieutenant in the Army Nurse Corps

during World War II and an amazing athlete; she cycled all over Europe while in the Service, and played on the Army softball team. While I was growing up, springtime was always heralded by her hitting the first baseball pitch of the season for the neighborhood. She worked for many years as the Director of Nurses at a nursing home in Waltham. After battling cancer for eight years, she died in November of 1991. She was originally from Portland, Maine, and as stated earlier, the daughter of a Talmudic scholar, *shohet*,⁶ *mohel*⁷ and ardent Zionist. Waltham is a predominantly Italian, Irish and French-Canadian Catholic, blue-collar city. I was one of maybe four Jews in a high school graduating class of 845 students. My family is conservative, with Orthodox overtones in that we kept a kosher home. I was encouraged never to eat *treyf*⁸ outside the home, and was sent to Hebrew School until I graduated from high school. At Hebrew School, I learned Hebrew, Jewish law, religion, culture and literature; all classes were conducted in Hebrew. We observed all the Jewish holidays, not just Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Indeed, some years it seemed like I never went to school in September and October since a majority of the holidays occur then. Although religious tradition was fairly strict in the household, my siblings and I were encouraged to look beyond Waltham and our world. We were always traveling around New England as a family, and as young teens, my younger sister, Lois, and I would go into Boston and Cambridge to visit museums, concerts, hippies, Harvard co-eds, and other aspects of city life. When I was fifteen, my mother, sister and I went to Israel to visit my oldest brother, Merrill, who was studying at Hebrew University. My senior year of high school, Lois and I went to France for ten days with the French Club. With all these experiences, I knew that college in New England was not for me. I already knew that a whole new world existed for me, and I was anxious to

leave the racist environment of Boston. In 1977, Louise Day Hicks, a white Boston councilwoman and other racists were at their most vocal. Problems with busing were always on the news and I couldn't wait to leave. Although Waltham did not have these problems, I really wanted to get away from it all and looked for colleges away from the area. Some friends of Merrill had known people who went to Grinnell College and liked it so I wrote away to grayest Iowa for an application.

Located in the southeastern part of Iowa, Grinnell in 1977, had 1200 students from all backgrounds and areas of the country. It is a liberal arts school, it encourages creative thinking and one-on-one interaction between teacher and student. Grinnell not only opened my mind to academics, but to other cultures. Although I considered myself well traveled and open minded, I had only known Catholics and Jews. Actually, one of my high school friends was a Protestant, but I thought it was some different kind of Catholic. At Grinnell, and in experiencing the Midwest in general, I think I experienced the biggest culture shock of my life. My eyes were opened, and I met many different kinds of Protestants, Jews that were culturally Jewish but not religious, Baptists, born-again Christians, etc. My provincialism was shocked when on Saturday night I didn't have to wait for my friends to go to mass before we partied, or that people thought I was really religious because for the first two years at Grinnell I ate vegetarian because I wouldn't eat *treyf*. I had never even thought about my religiousness. My friends in Waltham knew and respected my dietary restrictions, and we never questioned or talked about how observant we were. **The Bonfire of the Vanities** by Tom Wolfe, has a passage that truly captures my thoughts about the Midwest and Protestantism:

The Mayor shook his head some more. He found the Christian churches baffling. When he was growing up, the *goyim* were all Catholics, unless you counted the *shvartzer*, which nobody did. They didn't even rate being called *goyim*. The Catholics were two types, the Irish and the Italian. ... He was in college before he realized there was this whole other set of *goyim*, the Protestants. He never saw any. There were only Jews, Irishmen, and Italians in college, but he heard about them, and learned that some of the most famous people in New York were this type of *goyim*, the Protestants, people like the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, the Roosevelts, the Astors, the Morgans. The term *WASP* was invented much later. The Protestants were split up into such a crazy bunch of sects nobody could even keep track of them all. It was all very pagan and spooky when it wasn't ridiculous. They were all worshipping some obscure Jew from halfway around the world. The Rockefellers were! The Roosevelts even! Very spooky it was, and yet these Protestants ran the biggest law firms, the banks, the investment houses, the big corporations. He never saw such people in the flesh, except at ceremonies. Otherwise they didn't exist in New York. They barely even showed up in the voting surveys. In sheer numbers they were a nullity- and yet there they were. (1987: 588)

I remember one of my good friends at Grinnell, Bill Pickett, who is an Irish-Catholic from Sommerville, Massachusetts, a fellow student in American Studies turning to me one day in our religious history class and saying, "Griff, I didn't know people hated the Catholics, didn't even know there was anybody else out there besides Catholics and Jews until I came here!" I nodded in agreement, and slowly took it all in.

Grinnell proved to be a very nurturing environment. I had many interested and interesting professors; I recall working on an independent study on Melville, Poe, and Hawthorne with one professor, a guided reading on the Rosenbergs with another. I loved these one-on-one interactions with my professors and knew graduate school would someday fit into my plan. Being a good American Studies scholar, however, I knew it was important to get out of school for a bit and try the workplace. My sense of irony was

already in place as my first post-college job was as a secretary in the Plant Management Office at Regis College, a small Catholic college/convent in Weston, Massachusetts. My job was incredibly hectic and varied: seeing that the altar bread was ordered for Mass each week, making sure the nuns and professors had all their supplies, as well as keeping purchase orders in order. The real bonus to this job was that I got to work with Dave Cowens, one of the best players for the Boston Celtics. He had just retired from the team and had taken the job as Regis's Athletic Director; he was great to work with and gave a bit of a spark to the workplace. After a year at Regis, I decided to move to Seattle. I had been living at home and felt the need for an adventure. One of my closest friends lived out there and persuaded me to come out and live with her. I found a job at the University of Washington, an apartment with a fabulous view and had a great year out there, before grunge and Starbucks Coffee made Seattle so *chichi*. Although I loved the city, I hated my job and I realized I wanted to go back to school. Indiana University had a great program in both Folklore and American Studies and in 1983 I moved to Bloomington.

Choosing the Informants

Leon Edel in his article, "Transference: The Biographer's Dilemma," talks about the kinds of people biographers choose to write about. He quotes Freud, "[Biographers] frequently select the hero as the object of study because, for personal reasons of their own emotional self, they have a personal affection for him from the very outset." (1984: 283) My subjects, retired professors from Brandeis University, are in keeping with that thought. I have been fortunate throughout my career as a student, from elementary school to my present stage of graduate student, to have had many pleasant

encounters with my teachers. I was encouraged every step of the way; my years at Grinnell College were incredible; graduation week, every one of my American Studies professors and one of my French professors took me aside separately and asked me about my future and told me they would help in any way they could; consequently one of the reasons I went on to graduate school was not so much the idea of the Ph.D., but that I could pay the highest compliment by joining the ranks of my mentors. (I am currently a lecturer in American Studies at Grinnell College.)

Recently I met up with an old college friend, Claire Gill, and told her about my topic. She smiled in complete understanding and said, "I loved the professors at Grinnell--graduate school was disappointing because the care and help wasn't the same," and she proceeded to tell me a few anecdotes about her favorite Grinnell teachers. "Exactly my point," I thought to myself. We study lots of things and people in our lives. We call many people teachers, for each encounter is a learning experience, but when did we ever really study or thank those who taught and influenced us in the classroom? After all, for most universities it is still the tradition of outstanding faculty and students (those that do well), not the basketball and football teams, that give credibility and high rankings to an institution; usually the careers of faculty members essentially set the course for the school's century to come. Yet the bookstores are full of books about Bobby Knight and Steve Alford, not Richard Bauman or Sandra Dolby Stahl.

Ethnography as Teacher

According to Edel, what usually occurs in biography is "transference," "Biography is a means of expression when the author has chosen his subject in order to respond to a secret need in his own nature." (1984: 284)

Throughout my career as a folklorist, I have documented all kinds of "folk", ballad singers, ethnics, artists, and have enjoyed my experiences in the public sector. My greatest joy, however, comes from teaching. I think the current scarcity of teaching opportunities in academia also kindled my interest in documenting professors' lives; if by chance I couldn't actually be a professor, at least I could experience the life vicariously, or, as in the following example, I could become a student again. The very occupation of these people as professors lends them to constant self-evaluation and constant teaching. Many times during fieldwork, I was not simply a fieldworker. Through the dynamic process of folklore, I was transformed time and again into a student in their living room, office, or loft in New York City.

In the following example, I had an art lesson. My first informant, Phillip Abrahams, turned out to be an artist, who in his own words, "was once really famous, then unfamous (not to be confused with infamous) and is now getting famous again." He was an interesting man, and one of the few who was obviously a teacher first, in that after I got the obligatory background on him and his family, he taught me about art. An interesting twist of fate was that one of his students turned out to be an old friend of mine from Hebrew School days. In fact, the last time I had seen her was right before she moved to New York to live with Abrahams and his wife to study with him. Once this connection was made, he recalled her and her change in art aesthetic, from what he taught her, in order to teach me about art. When I came to his loft that afternoon, I had amused both Abrahams and his wife by telling them I didn't know what art was. I didn't come to him because he was famous; indeed, I didn't even recognize his name initially. His references to Veronese, a Renaissance painter, and other metaphors were lost on me. So, quite naturally and most beautifully he explained to me that,

When you see a painting, when you see nature...everything is in motion. It's not all fixed. You can learn perspective and learn how to render the whole thing, then you move an inch and everything's different... and all the relationships are different. So there's no way that copying nature is going to be satisfactory, because in life you move. And when you move in a painting. . . if you stand still, it looks dead. That's the root of bad vaudeville, when you see a big scene in vaudeville and it all converges beautifully and. . . it doesn't work right because you move, everything isn't where it's supposed to be and just one little bit of motion on your part destroys that. That's very simple, that's the problem.

Simple maybe for Abrahams, but for me, it was clear I had never understood art before, and as he continued talking about perspective and the value of Renaissance painting to modern painters, I kept reassessing my own understanding of art. At the time, I didn't know if I was getting a "proper life history," but I did know that for me, personally, it was priceless as I got a personal definition of art from a "famous" artist in his loft in Greenwich Village in New York City.

Interestingly enough, I got hold of my friend who had studied with him and told her about his interview. She laughed and said, 'It sounds like you met the man.' She called the Abrahamses up, since she hadn't spoken to them in a while, then called me back to tell me that Mrs. Abrahams thought I was "lovely" and "very shrewd", as I had "gotten" her husband. She was impressed at how I had managed to pursue his thoughts on art and to realize that they were Philip Abrahams'. I laughed, because until I learned this I wasn't sure what I got, since this was more of a passage of rites than a usual *rite de passage* narrative, in that I got two hours worth of Abraham's view of the art world and his participation in art rather than the stories of surviving the Depression, the War, and advancement of careers as told to me by the other professors.

I felt fortunate that Abrahams was my first official informant because his narrative was quite different from what I had envisioned. Linda Degh, in defining life history in her article, "Beauty, Wealth and Power: Career Choices for Women in Folktales, Fairytales and Modern Media," writes:

What is a life history? A narrative, a text, which may be told orally as solicited by direct interviewing and structure by a prepared questionnaire. It could also be a product of an intensive analytical conversation between researcher and respondent. But it could also come close to spontaneous narration in which the researcher minimizes his influence on the natural context, by allowing the speaker maximum liberty to express himself,- a situation preferable to the folklorist focusing on human creativity. (1988:16)

Summary

In recognizing the above as criteria for life history, the understanding and identifying of this genre becomes more open and allows and encourages many different interpretations of texts collected, such as including Abrahams' dissertations on art, or Shulman's love of tennis or Cohen's priceless description of his neighborhood in Boston, circa the 1920s.

In setting up the chapters for this dissertation, I have used the idea of hodgepodge as an organizing factor; writing about these lives has been no problem, organizing them has. In framing a center of reference, I have picked the themes in which most of them have chosen to center their life histories. In doing so, the biographer establishes a communicative act between herself and the reader. The whole success of the life history depends on whether or not the lives are properly understood by the audience. It is up to the teller to tell the audience what he/she is doing, when the ideas are speculative, what kinds of methodologies are being employed, that is she must be honest with the audience and tell when fact deviates from conjecture

and hypothesis. I intend to continue throughout the dissertation's subsequent chapters, as I do in this chapter, to explain the idea of life history. However, it would be meaningless without some sense of how I came to this work in the first place. Hence, though I will talk about my background and how I got interested in the subject throughout this work, there will not be the standard, separate section on fieldwork methodology nor an ethnography of my own participatory frames of reference. Such traditional elements of an introduction work against the text I am trying to construct here. Though valuable and necessary documents, both tend to separate the experience of doing fieldwork from the data collected, and thus to create the illusion that the two can be separate. In doing life histories, the one thing I have learned is that no such separation is possible. The very act of making a life story requires dialogue and active participation from both speaker and hearer. In fact, often, I have experienced the realization that I could not tell in the interview or after, which one I was supposed to be. Accordingly, this dissertation has my fieldwork woven into every chapter, as I am unable to separate myself from the process of collecting or constructing the lives on which I report.

Chapter Two will be a talmudic look at the transcript of one interview; talmudic here meaning a scholarly reading of and interpretation of the text. Within the actual text I give my commentary, my understanding of the dynamics involved during the interview. The third chapter, uses tmy subjects' narratives of experiencing the politics of the times, socialism, communism, anti-Semitism, the Depression, World War II as well as their college experiences. The fourth chapter addresses the notion of non-sectarianism (Brandeis University calls itself a Jewish-sponsored, non-sectarian university) as it affects these professors' lives; most of the professors

were called the "non-Jewish Jews." Thus, in linking ethnic experience, family rituals, community life and religion, the professors' culture parallels the founding philosophy of Brandeis. In concluding the dissertation, I write about the lore I found throughout the dissertation. Within the context of the interview, I was told proverbs, personal narratives, folktales and even a folk-song. Hodgepodge has been a great concept to play with in ordering both the lives and the dissertation--giving me great freedom in ordering the themes and patterns common to all these lives and, most importantly, keeping a consistent idea of life history throughout the work.

Taking such liberties in order to interpret the professors' life histories is not my intent, but a creative way to view the life histories is. By looking in more depth at the context of these peoples' lives, I will show how these professors' life histories emphasize the experiences and requirements of the individual, and how they have coped with society. In looking at the dynamic and adaptive aspects of the life experience, in linking one stage of life with the next, and in taking into consideration the cumulative patterns of personal conduct, I intend to show the relevancy of personal experience to social institutions and the impact of personal choice on social change. As you will see, it's all there; these people, by virtue of their age and positions in society, have witnessed and lived beautiful, full lives, and their life histories illuminate them.

Endnotes

- 1 Exegesis is the Christian term for criticism and commentary, once used only for the Bible, now accepted among literature scholars.
- 2 Gail Jefferson also notes these utterances and calls them side sequences in her article, "Side Sequences." In Sudnow 1972, pp. 294-338.
- 3 In his *Die Technik des Dramas* (1863), the German critic Gustav Freytag described the structure of the typical five-act play in terms of rising action, climax, and falling action. This structure was later applied to the short story.
- 4 Yiddish, ritual butcher.
- 5 Yiddish, ritual circumciser.
- 6 Yiddish, kosher butcher.
- 7 Yiddish, ritual circumciser.
- 8 Yiddish, non-kosher food.

Chapter Two

Hodgepodge Rules: Life History as Performance, Narrative and Truth

There are all kinds of stories. Some are born with the telling; their substance is language, and before someone puts them into words they are but a hint of an emotion, a caprice of mind, an image, or an intangible recollection. Others are manifest whole, like an apple, and can be repeated infinitely without risk of altering their meaning. Some are taken from reality and processed through inspiration, while others rise up from an instant of inspiration and become real after being told.

Isabel Allende

The process of getting a life on the page is a difficult one. One is tempted to fight against the oscillation and random telling in order to make the text more readable; for the sake of brevity and continuity, one is tempted to condense the jumble of conversations and monologues into sensible and concise recollections. But life histories are not done to produce Aristotelian patterns, and in altering the transcripts, many times we lose the magic of reality processed through inspiration, the layers of emotion and the history of experience. For practical reasons, whole transcripts of interviews can not appear all the time when one is exploring the course of life history-- frequently we banish them to appendices at the end of the article or dissertation.

Working with these transcripts and trying to order the lives of these professors and reflecting on my ten years in the field, I feel I have developed an ear for something more than the text of a personal narrative or legend within this hodgepodge. By including a whole transcript within a chapter of this dissertation, I can demonstrate to the reader the skill in conducting fieldwork and the importance of witnessing the dynamic process between the interviewer and his/her informant as the life history is elicited. I had the

good fortune to work in the field every summer of graduate school, interviewing folk artists, limestone cutters and carvers, musicians and storytellers, and what was made clear to me early on was how much their craft or skill was merely the format in which they condensed much personal, family, and community lore. As well, I worked at the Oral History Research Center at Indiana University where I transcribed, edited and indexed countless interviews. My last project at the center involved making sense out of a pile of transcripts of retired Indiana University professors' oral histories. After a year of sorting through the jumble, I, along with two colleagues, produced an edited collection of these professors' lives: we excerpted verbatim texts and arranged them thematically (growing up, the Depression, WW. II, etc.). I was proud of the collection but frustrated because I felt that the stories were much richer than the excerpted pieces. I wanted the public to see the professors and my other informants as I saw them, not only as knowledgeable guides through history as personally witnessed, but as sensitive and observant people whose tellings of these lives were as dramatic and valuable as were the epics of Homer himself. This frustration led me to this dissertation project and in particular to this chapter where a transcript of one whole interview will be included so that the reader can witness the dynamic process of ethnography and view the digressions and diversions as valuable blueprints of the lives lived.

Elaine Lawless in her book, **Handmaidens of the Lord**, values the many layers of lives told but writes about the problems of delivering the oral text to the reader:

Finding a palatable way to present these orally delivered life stories to the reader has been a difficult task. One is tempted, of course, to offer verbatim, untampered transcripts of interviews, complete with interview questions and without concern for chronological sequence,

since we are not pretending that these represent life "histories." Although I will agree that these stories *are* fictions and can be viewed as *texts* in their own right, many of them were not delivered in an uninterrupted flow. Therefore, I have "framed" the transcripts- in terms of introducing the stories, putting them into context, describing the women, and creating transitions. Although my voice may be interjected at any point in the narrative (and will always be evident), the quoted portions of their stories are fully intact and are verbatim. (1988:18)

It serves a different purpose to view these lives as fiction, and is therefore, less effective. We can and do pretend that these transcripts represent life histories; don't we tape-record the interview in order to capture the proper attitude and nuances of the context? Although I will agree that these stories are fictions and can be viewed as texts in their own right, if one is studying life histories it is wrong not to present them in an uninterrupted flow. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, life histories defy the notion of story because they are not linear. What I do is exactly what Lawless says must not be done. But it ought to be done, must be done! The telling can not be reconstructed. It was wrong for Scott to clean up the ballad, as it was wrong to memorialize singers like Marina Takalo or Almeda Riddle. We need to move to the next stage of not just hearing the singing in context but the singing or the telling of the life as it emerges. It is more informative to see the hodgepodge constructed as these professors live the experience, to see the performance of the interview as the flow is established and to see how the stories became a hodgepodge. Having hodgepodge rule the life history allows us to view the interviews as they are processed through inspiration; the reader can witness how Portland, Maine, becomes a metaphor for Sholom Aleicham's Kosrilevke, how Eddie Shulman met Leo Szilard, Pierre Emmanuel and Eleanor Roosevelt and how Shulman's interest in brain growth was piqued by following his own idiosyncratic Sabbath ritual.

Observing the stories within the stories helps order the jumble and make sense of the diversions. The product is the same; after two hours of talk, a life history is recorded.

In presenting the transcript whole, one can truly witness the emergent quality of a life lived; life history in its telling is a jumble all folklorists understand in that it identifies the act as a reflective activity, brought to be as a kind of performance upon its completion. Thus, life history has the conditions for genre making and at the very least is a rich commentary on life.

Finally, this a dissertation on the lives of retired Jewish professors. Although the religiousness of their lives varies and is in many cases almost non-existent, culturally they are bound together here. As Barbara Myerhoff wrote in *Number Our Days*:

The Jews have always been intensely literate, but just as they loved scholarship and the written word, they treasured the spoken word. For the Hasids, the highest form of religious expression is in song. And they were always the great storytellers. Stories are a renewal of the word, made alive by being spoken, passed from one to another, released from considerations of correctness and Law.

. . . The one who believes in God tells Him the story. The one who does not must tell it to progeny, to humankind, and to oneself. *Homo narrans*, humankind as storyteller, is a human constant. (1978: 271-2)

Add professor to the Jewish part and *Homo narrans* is out of control: more often than not, I became the student during the interviews, as I frequently lost control of the interview as the professors' hodgepodes ruled and they answered questions with diversions and examples and nestings, a natural context for pedagogy! As witnessed in the following transcript, I negotiate various turns and authority when there are lulls or when I am lost, but mostly, I listen.

In this chapter then, I will present Edward Shulman's transcript I have devised a table, terms and format in order to analyze the text. The transcript will not look like Lawless' edited transcripts. At the same time, it will look like raw data, but it is not. As stated, these professors are Jewish (practicing in different degrees); thus this I analyzed this transcript blending the Jewish tradition and discourse analysis. As stated in the first chapter, using the more accepted literary terms like exegesis and epistemology clashed horribly with the data; using terms from linguistics took the soul out of the life. I decided to blend the Jewish and the secular (much like the professors themselves) and devised an analytical system that evolved from emic terms, thus deepening the reader's understanding and appreciation of this life and world view told. Using three columns, you will see in Column One the text which I call Torah (the Torah is the text of the Old Testament read aloud during certain days of the week, Saturdays and holidays). Column Two is the commentary on the text, which in Jewish liturgy is called the Haftorah which is read after the Torah and the final column; the Talmud (Talmud is the collection of Jewish laws and tradition) in which I detail the communicative devices used by Shulman throughout the interview, i.e., the laws that speak to the folklore community at large.

My purpose in analyzing the text in this way is show that hodgepodge has coherence. Most scholars agree that a life said is not coherent. In using life histories as an example, I want to show how episodic and methodical life histories can be if looked at in a coherent model. This *explication de text* then begins to make sense then, as a life said evolves into a life story. Coherence must also be understood as a cooperative endeavor between the narrator and the interviewer. It is therefore important to understand not only that in each interview context are the informants' conceptualizations

different, but also that my background and personality influences that conceptualization at any given moment. My obtrusive presence not only allows these people to tell their story, it also permits me to enter their allegory through the science of folklore. It is through folklore then, that I can see that life history is a contextually distinct and interactive act carried out by the informant and the interviewer.

Thus the second column, the Haftorah/ Commentary makes sense. The third column, constitutes the frame of the life story said as it becomes life history. Any message sent to the receiver or interviewer gives meaning to the interviewer as he/she tries to understand the messages within the frame. All the framing then, or Talmud in this case is accomplished through the use of culturally conventionalized metacommunication. Here is where coherence goes beyond organization and creates history; how coherence moves from a level of narrative analysis to a question of performance of a history. There is no trick to prove life history has coherence; rather I have chosen to fuse the techniques and insights of discourse analysis with those of folklore in order to identify five devices used by one particular informant as he tells me his life history. The devices I use are: Answer --information given with little or no embellishment; Special Code--indicates traditional opening to a story or joke as well as use of Yiddish or Hebrew--Shulman periodically uses Yiddish and Hebrew for accents on his stories and also, in part, to test my Jewishness; I also use this when we interpret words and situations the same (Shared Knowledge); as well as when we misunderstand each other (Breakdown in Communication) and the flow of the interview is stopped for a moment as we re-negotiate our terms for each other. Story--series of events narrated in a sequential manner, has rising and falling action; Memory Trigger-- A story that interrupts itself into another story or stories

as Shulman gets caught up in the act of remembering for me; Commentary-- When Shulman responds to my questions, many times he analyzes his answer's meaning directly after he answers; giving a self-reflective coherence to the interview; Request to Continue-- when I feel there is more to be asked and it is appropriate for me to ask for more details.

The reader then may witness the interview as a breeding ground for the emergence of knowledge. In narrating why I asked what I did, how I understood Shulman's answers, and why I responded the way I did, I illustrate how hodgepodge is to be valued as a way in which people become human and interpret themselves to each other. Using hodgepodge as a theory enables me to put folklore in a context that realizes that folklore can not be severed from daily living. What this data demonstrates is that a life without folklore can not be lived. Folklore is not only what people have or know, it is part of the way in which having and knowing is about. We do not merely know folklore, we get knowledge because of folklore. Presenting the transcript in this manner then explains how the hodgepodge of life is ordered by my explanations and analyses.

Shulman is a retired physics professor and I chose his transcript for several reasons. First of all, as noted in the first chapter, he knows my family, and there is some sense of familiarity throughout the interview, as well; he knows everybody, as he says, and refers to many of the professors who were part of this study. Shulman is a very proud and very complimentary colleague. Finally, he has a good sense of story, and tells many throughout the course of the interview. To edit his story would be to lose the feeling of why one studies these life histories in the first place. In the transcript, I am interrupting the flow, first is Shulman, then me with a question or a prompt, but reading the transcript is as close as we can get if we

were present at the interview. But that is the point. An enormous part of daily life is the exact same struggle. Sometimes we interview each other: "What did you do this weekend?" "What movie did you see?" Sometimes we talk about what we did and at the supper table we struggle for middle ground. And sometimes we start with the basics.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>Griff: This is August 9, 1989 and I will be interviewing Professor Shulman at Brandeis University.</p> <p>G: I am going to ask you, Even though I know. Where were you born and raised? (ha ha ha)</p> <p>Shulman: Portland, Maine</p> <p>G: And your parents, were immigrants there?</p>	<p>I started with a question which was not a question. I knew the answer and told him so in words and with laughter, thereby constructing a connection.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>His two-word response fulfills the rule of conversational coherence.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Sure. Both were Litvaks, from the Lithuanian part of Russia, <u>not part from Minsk 'cause I don't know where Minsk is.</u></p> <p>G: And when did they come to this country?</p> <p>S: <u>Let's see, my mother was fourteen, I know, because she was spirited out of Russia, because she was running guns for the Revolution.</u> Let's see, she was fourteen, around 1904, something like that.</p> <p>G: And did she come straight to Portland, Maine?</p>	<p>As I re-read this, I asked myself, "Is there something wrong with Minsk?" Perhaps it was because Minsk was part of Poland, and deemed "low-class" in his family as being Polish was/is in many eastern European Jewish families</p> <p>Shulman does answer my question, but not immediately; he constructed an anecdote for an answer. I accepted the anecdote and there is room for more elaboration, but for some reason I did not ask for more elaboration.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Trope of feigned ignorance.</p> <p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, remind him of another year, a different moment. Coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yes, she came with her older sister. ...I think they knew somebody here, <u>the usual way</u>. My father came about the same time. They hadn't known each other before.</p> <p>G: And umh, when, when were you born?</p> <p>S: 1920.</p> <p>G: And did you have any brothers and sisters?</p> <p>S: Yeah, there are, well, there were four of us alive, the youngest died young, three of us.</p>	<p>Shulman knows my family background-- his parents and my grandparents were both immigrants and came here by boat, "... the usual way." I did not need to ask for more details.</p>	<p>ANSWER/ SHARED KNOWLEDGE</p> <p>"... the usual way." is a short-hand for shared knowledge, does not require elaboration.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: And can you describe your early life growing up in Portland?

Until this point I gave and received standard questions and answers, the technical details of context. I knew where he was born, but for the record, I wanted it stated on tape. As well, I wanted all the family details. My own style of interviewing is much like a hostess trying to make a guest feel comfortable. I do not play tennis with my informant, lobbing questions right and left, eager to gain control of the field; I always feel confident I'll get what I want. When I instruct my students on how to conduct

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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interviews, I spend lots of time on how to establish rapport. I feel it is important to relax, chat, and ask easy questions at first, maybe admire the room and tchotchkas at first. I want the informant to like and trust me. After all, I am asking him about his life, a gem which I value very highly. For all my niceness and easy-going attitude, I very rarely leave an interview without out both of us being exhausted and at least two full audio tapes. I like to think Shulman is grateful to me for this opportunity so that it is mutually gratifying. They get to talk and talk about themselves without interruption and I get great data and fuel for my study, and many times I am entertained.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: You know the Sholom Aleichem story about the two men in Poland who meet on a train and one of them says, " . . .where are you from? " <u>You understand Yiddish?</u></p> <p>G: Yeah, a little, you can try to me.</p> <p>S: Oh, OK I'll try to give you a punch line.</p>	<p>Eddie Shulman does play tennis (both literally and in his method of answering my questions) and he counters me almost immediately, as he performs for me. He tells me a Sholom Aleicham story in answer to my question. Suddenly, the interview is over and I've lost control. I have become the audience. This does not trouble me, as I got entertained and I received my first performance of a story.</p> <p>Also, he tests my Jewishness here, by asking me if I understand Yiddish, thereby linking us even more.</p>	<p>SPECIAL FORMULAE-- INTRODUC- TION TO A STORY</p> <p>Here, Shulman signals to me that a story is on its way.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>He says, "Well, I come from Kosrilevke," he says.</p> <p>"What kind of a town is that?"</p> <p>He said, "Oh well, there are about thirty-five Jewish families, we have two synagogues, and really it is very nice."</p> <p>He said, "So how many non-Jewish families?"</p> <p>"Well, we have a mayor, chief of police, and a tax collector, three non-Jewish families.</p>	<p>My folklore antennas went up--embedded text-- breakthrough into performance. I was beside myself with joy: only five minutes into the interview and I already had my "first gem." The buried treasure of the interview was not buried at all.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Sholom Aleicham was a Yiddish writer at the turn of the twentieth century who, like the Brothers Grimm, collected and wrote many short stories about life in the shtetls of Eastern Europe (<u>Fiddler on the Roof</u> is based on many such stories). Kosrilevke served as the locale for many of these stories.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>So then, the second one says to the first one, "So where are you from?"</p> <p>He says, "Well, I am from Warsaw,"</p> <p>He says, "It's a famous place, I've heard of it," he said.</p> <p>"How many Jews you have there?"</p> <p>And he said, "Oh, about half a million," he said.</p> <p>"Half a million Jews! I can't even imagine it. And how many non-Jewish families?"</p> <p>He said, "About a million people.</p> <p>He said, why do you need so many <i>goyim</i>¹ for? (we both laugh).</p> <p>That's the way I felt in Portland. (laughs again) We had about three hundred Jewish families and the rest were there to provide services for us.</p>	<p><i>Goyim</i> literally cannot be said in English, the punch line would not have the same effect.</p>	<p>SPECIAL CODES—YIDDISH AND SHARED KNOWLEDGE</p> <p>In this context, this tale was very effective: Having grown up in Waltham, Mass., I was one of maybe four Jews in my graduating class of 845, I well understood the irony of this story. The story is a traditional one and is structurally closed. In choosing this particular tale</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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In re-reading this text I laugh even harder to myself. I bought the story and didn't bother to dismiss this folktale and say, "But seriously Professor Shulman, what was Portland like?" I listened and I understood. This is the beginning of the hodgepodge and the point at which the performance of the life history begins. The power shifted and I let it and for me, I got enough of a description of Portland so that I could move on with the interview. I get handed moments like this all the time, as folklore occurs all the time and my ears and eyes are always tuned in for these performances. I do not always have my tape recorder with me, so when I get a folktale *in situ* like this, I am ecstatic.

G: (ha ha) Were you, was your family religious?

SPECIAL
CODE-
SHARED
KNOWLEDGE

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Everyone in Portland, Maine then was religious, there wasn't, I hadn't even heard of a conservative movement. As I recall, what—three synagogues were totally Orthodox. When I got out the University of Michigan, first time I discovered there were non-orthodox Jews in the world.</p> <p>G: That's funny, that's the way I felt when I went to Iowa (ha ha) I didn't know. Was Yiddish spoken in the house then?</p>	<p>My mother had grown up in Portland at this time and I well knew what religious meant. My own upbringing was similar to Shulman's: kosher house, cheder, going to shul, observing all the holidays (not just Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur). I shared this encounter when I went to Iowa.</p>	<p>We both understood the word religious and Shulman gave me the appropriate answer.</p> <p>SHARED KNOWLEDGE</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah, I didn't realize it but after I got married, my wife and I came to visit, my wife said, "You know, I don't understand more than half of what you are saying, you talk what is obviously Yiddish most of the time." She knew none. I had no realization of that. So obviously it was talked.</p>	<p>I did not understand why his wife didn't understand Yiddish (I did make a mental note to listen carefully for more references during the interview.)</p> <p>However, I did understand why he used his wife's not understanding as a foil. My bubbie² (my mother's mother) lived with my family for about six years and although she could speak and understand English very well, she spoke Yiddish in the house to us. I never noticed until one of my cousins witnessed the interaction once and was amazed that I understood my bubbie. I always answered in English. Also, before I went out to the mid-west, I thought it was a given that all grandparents and sometimes even parents spoke with a foreign accents. Growing up in Waltham, I heard French, Italian, Chinese and Gaelic accented voices. Meeting accent-free third and fourth generation Americans in Iowa was one of the many culture shocks for me.</p>	<p>BREAK-DOWN IN COMMUNICATION</p> <p>I did not understand why his wife did not understand Yiddish; perhaps she was a German Jew or Hungarian or maybe a convert.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: So, getting back to growing up in Portland, and stuff, did you always like school?

I am attempting a chronology of sorts here, so I get us back to Portland. I allow myself mental commiserations with my informants, but try to keep some structure going in the beginning.

Many of the professors mentioned loving school, so I incorporated this question into my interview sessions. Shulman is no exception and his enthusiastic answer confirms my assumption. In fact, many times throughout the interview he mentions loving school.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Loved school. I remember, when I was three, my continuing memory starts from there, I had my arms wrapped around the telephone pole—a wooden pole, was crying because I had dressed myself and wanted my sister to take me to school and I heard the school bell ring at nine o'clock and I realized, she had gotten out of the house and not taken me and my mother picking me up and swearing that I would go to school the following year.

G: And did you go to school early then or . . . ?

S: Yeah, they lied about my age, I was a big kid so, so I only got to school one year early. They must have had kindergarten then, so I went a year early.

G: Now where are you in your family? Are you the youngest?

S: I am the . . . I am the baby, my mother was one of five sisters to live there and four of them had what are called menopause babies that are around the same age, they were all boys. So we had a built-in social life.

G: That's great!

MEMORY TRIGGER

Certain moments come to mind first, remind him of another year, a different moment. Coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah.</p> <p>G: So, did they actually live in the same house?</p> <p>S: No, no but our social life consisted of mainly the whole family getting together, I guess, on Saturday nights.</p> <p>G: How, when did the Depression hit, where were you in school?</p> <p>S: <u>See</u>, I was nine when the Depression technically started 1929. It was a very significant thing in my life 'cause I discovered how poor we were. That changed my whole life ...I understood numbers very well and through various accidental things, I discovered how much money my father had made that day. It was like ten cents.</p> <p>G: What did he do?</p>	<p>The nesting and commentary begins. Shulman talks about the Depression, how it affected him, how he began to understand it. The life history takes a life of its own as I follow his lead and ask him what his father did.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, remind him of another year, a different moment.. Coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: He had a grocery store and I discovered that if you looked at the top of the cash register you could find all the details of what was going on. So I said to myself, "Well if only I could help with not wanting anything," So I stopped asking for anything, ahhhh, no presents, no candy, no nothing. And ah, as a matter of fact, I have enjoyed that kept it ever since. I just need new tennis balls these days but it really colored my whole life because I was acutely aware of the Depression.</p>		<p>COMMENT.- ARY-- Shulman, after telling me about the grocery store, tells me how the Depression affected his taste for material objects then and now.</p>
<p>G: Did you mother help him at the grocery store?</p>	<p>The nesting continues within comment.ary here; as I ask about his mother because my paternal grandmother worked alongside my grandfather in the running of the family furniture store and well understood that many more women were in the work force during the Depression than most people realize.</p>	<p>REQUEST TO CONTINUE</p> <p>I wanted more information about who ran the family store. I knew there had to be more details from my own family's experience with "The Store."</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah, she was a much better businessman than he was, and several times when he became ill, <u>I don't know whether it psychological or real. I couldn't tell you</u>, she would open the store or we would move to a place where there was a store and we could live in the back of it or on top of it. It was before my recollection. It would start going well and my father's business wouldn't go well, so then he would move in back with her and take the store over and pretty soon it wasn't working so well, so we would open another store for my mother, That's the picture I get, I don't know how true it is, I, I don't know that's what they tell me.</p> <p>G: Did you help out in the store?</p> <p>S: As little as I could, I really never liked it.</p>		<p>COMMENT.- ARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment.; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Even though you were acutely aware of the Depression, did you always think you were going to college?

Here, is a great example of how the jumble is created and controlled. Shulman told me about the Depression, how it colored his life and his family's business. I see an opening here for me to get back to the business of his life history: "Even though" the Depression affected his view on luxuries and wanting things, I was curious to see if going to college was considered a luxury or was still within his reach. In doing so, I get to continue with the chronology. I'm not just appreciating the text, I am analyzing the information and keep the idea of chronology ready when it is appropriate for the questioning to resume.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: I knew I was going to college. Nobody even had to encourage me, I became interested in science like most scientists about age eight or nine, something like that and I started studying astronomy. And quite the usual thing when we sit around now "How did you get interested in science or what did you do?" <u>My story is like everybody else's</u>, the details are different but I remember going to the library and I took out every book on astronomy in the town library, most of them were written with calculus. I couldn't understand it but I read every single chapter hoping to understand, I would understand a sentence here or there, just driving to understand. And most of us were like that.</p> <p>G: Did teachers encourage you, if you didn't understand say you'd go to one of your teachers and say "help me."</p> <p>S: No I didn't need help from them.</p>	<p>This personal experience story fascinated me, and I filed this away for one of my many next projects.... how scientists sat around and talked about getting interested in their field; much like all other academics, how and why did we end up here. When I got to my first teaching job, my colleague and fellow folklorist, Michael J. Bell would periodically ask me how I got interested in folklore and each time, my story got more and more refined, as did his.</p>	<p>STORY-- Coherence of Shulman's life continues as he tells this story of how he became interested in physics; he has a traditional brush off which signals a story, "... my story is like everybody else's..." but he obliges and tells me how he became interested in physics.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: But were they encouraging at all?</p> <p>S: The physics teacher in high school wasn't a very good teacher, he didn't know much more than what he read in the book, there was no point in going to him. I never liked chemistry, so I never took the famous chemistry course in high school but in math, they had an experience with my, the younger of my two sisters, who eventually majored in math in college and sort of applied mathematician and she had a big quarrel with one of the faculty and she went to the head of the department. and told that this man didn't know enough to teach her anything. And so my father had to take her to school and they staged a math contest between her and this guy and she won hands down. So they didn't bother her anymore, so when I came along, they expected the same kind of thing and they pretty much got it.</p> <p>G: (laughs) Did you, were there a core of your friends that were also interested in science?</p>	<p>I kept at this because many of my informants had interesting stories about their high schools, some good memories, some painful ones.</p> <p>Another nesting here, driven by the previous comment.. I should add, this particular nesting reinforced the "genius" stereotype I had of Shulman and his family. As I was preparing for this interview, my father told me a story about Shulman's sister coming into my father's furniture store looking for a washing machine. Before buying it, she took the whole machine apart to see how it all worked, then re-assembled it, much to the amazement. of my father and his salesmen.</p>	<p>REQUEST TO CONTINUE</p> <p>STORY</p> <p>Coherence of Shulman's life continues as he tells this story of how he surpassed his high school teachers in scientific knowledge.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah, the thing was, the crucial was, for I don't know what it was my twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth birthday: the whole pile of my siblings got together and, they brought me the glass blanks to make a six-inch telescope. I am guessing it cost a dollar or two. And I ground that things to make a telescope and I was down to the fine grindings when, —I did this out back on top of an icebox and my mother noticed how sloppy it was and one day she cleaned it up without telling me. She also didn't realizeThe glasses were up against the other so, I undid the whole thing by the time I figured it out, it was so rotten that I just gave it up in agony.</p> <p>G: Did you ever go out, I seem to remember an observatory somewhere in Portland, did you ever go there?</p> <p>S: I went up there, it wasn't very interesting.</p>	<p>While in graduate school, for some reason, I met many people in the geology department.; I remembered many parties where childhood experiment. stories were swapped. I thought to myself, if geologists did it, why not physicists? Sure enough, a story was told.</p>	<p>STORY-- Coherence is created, as Shulman remembers this incident and answers the question with a narrative.</p> <p>ANSWER Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: When, where did you, you do your undergraduate degree?</p>	<p>Here, again, I impose order on the jumble; getting us back to the chronology, I want to know the specifics of his education.</p>	
<p>S: I have all my degrees from Michigan.</p>		<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>
<p>G: Now what made you go out to the Midwest?</p>		
<p>S: (laughs) <u>I can't believe I was so intelligent</u>, I went to the library, and I found there were books, schools and they rated them, and I looked at the top ten schools in the country and I looked at how much at cost to go to them, and I looked at the top ten schools in the country and I looked to see how well they did in the sciences and there were two that were cheaper than all of the others Michigan, Wisconsin, Michigan had better physical science so I said I was going there. A very intelligent thing to do.</p>	<p>Even today, it is rare for people to go to college, (especially for undergraduates) out-of-state or the region.</p>	<p>COMMENT.-ARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>
<p>G: Did your parents mind you leaving the Portland area or were they-</p>		

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Oh probably! But I was determined to get to the place.</p> <p>G: How did you get out there?</p> <p>S: Two—one is I couldn't go to college right after high school, because my family was broke so I had to stay out and work for a year to support the family while my father got another job.</p> <p>G: What did you do?</p>	<p>The construction of his life continues here, as I got more commentary on his life. Shulman, loved school and despite the economic hardships was determined to go to school at the best possible place.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>STORY</p> <p>Coherence is created, as Shulman remembers this point in his life and answers the question with the beginnings of a story</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: I worked on a train, selling candy, magazines, those kinds of things, there was a number of us, because I handed this on to a friend who took over it when I finished. But I do remember I went off to Michigan with tuition for one semester and twenty-five dollars and best wishes of the whole family. I had to get a job which I did and somehow struggled through. It was not easy.</p> <p>G: No, no. What was Ann Arbor—it was in Ann Arbor, wasn't it?</p> <p>S: Yeah</p> <p>G: What was Ann Arbor like when you got there?</p>	<p>American folk tale of sorts—Thomas Edison and Jack Kerouac had the very same kind of job. Working on the train selling magazines and candies seems as much of as a rite de passage as the paper route of my generation. The hodgepodge has an inductive order here.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
S: I don't know what the question means.	Oh, no, my first point of breakthrough into confusion. Up until now, we were communicating on the same level. I did not need to ask elaborate questions, I just tended the nestings, adding the mortar to keep the jumble together. Here, one sees the fragility of the hodgepodge.. I need to add more words to re-establish the bonds of communication. I wanted to know if Ann Arbor felt like a college town, how it compared to Portland.	SPECIAL CODE—BREAK-DOWN IN COMMUNICATION Shulman's non understanding of my question—confused me; he had no problem with understanding other questions—but here communication broke down for a moment..
G: You know, was it, was it just a college town, was, did you, sense, that it was independent?		
S: It was mostly a college town. . . . there were about thirty-five thousand people in it; there are about one hundred thousand there now, it was mainly a college town, but had some light manufacturing, I was just aware of it, I didn't do much in it. The first two, three places I went to looking for a room. . . turned me down because I was Jewish, that was a big fat surprise. Eventually, I found one and they were very, very nice.	Communication is restored, he understood my question and we continue with the chronology and nestings.	COMMUNICATION RESTORED/STORY- After I established what kind of answer I wanted, coherence was resumed and Shulman obliged with a narrative.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Did you stay there for the whole time, in that particular rooming house?

S: Oh no, I went out, my brother had met. . . somebody in Lewiston, who had a son who was going up to Michigan, so we got together and took the train out together. After that we hitchhiked. We used to have competitions who could do a segment. of the hitchhiking thing faster. We got so we could average close, as I recall, close to sixty miles an hour hitchhiking. When you were hitchhiking in those days, it was safe. Like, I remember, in my senior year, when I was waiting for commencement., my roommate, he was actually the first guy I went up to Michigan with, he had to go home for something or another, for a couple days. And on the way back, he broke my record! And I had just about two days before my commencement. so, I hitchhiked to New York and stayed with my sister overnight, I went up to Albany and I won the record from Albany back to Ann Arbor by coming back in some incredibly fast time which I've now forgotten!- (We both laugh)

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: That's great. When you, I interviewed another professor, who went out to Michigan around the same time you did, and he was very much involved with socialism out there and covering what was going on in the car factories and everything. Were you aware politically at the time?

S: Oh yeah, there was a time... Well, I got to be a student senator, I don't really know why, ahh, I also wrote for the Michigan newspaper, The Michigan Daily for three years.

G: Did you know Lorne Goldstein?

Shulman seems modest here, as the interview continued, it was clear that he had an active interest in politics.

Goldstein was another professor I interviewed for this study who had many stories about the Michigan Daily and the great people he met at Michigan.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah. Oh, sure, he was a senior editor, when I was a sophomore or something like that. Well, he's . . . up here at the Heller School. Yeah, he is a great guy, he was very nice to me then, also. <u>But the business with UAW Walter a Victor Reuther, and things like that were going on</u>—Some, oh, I do know what I was going to say, didn't know what— There was one of the union guys named Bill G__ had a younger brother, Henry, who was in the same class I was at Michigan. We had many classes together, so through Henry, I went to see Bill, through Bill, I got to meet Victor Reuther and hear all these things. So, we were very much aware of it.</p>	<p>Walter Reuther, along with his brother Victor were union agitators in Detroit in twenties and thirties. They became voluntary organizers for the United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement. Workers of America (UAW) and successfully organized many automobile workers in Detroit's West Side into UAW Local 174. Walter became UAW president in 1935. In 1936, he led an important sit-down strike at the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company plant in Detroit; he was elected first vice-president of the UAW in 1942. After serving in WWII, he was elected president of the UAW in 1946. Both Walter and Victor were victims of an attempted assassination attempt in 1949: Walter was left partially disabled and Victor lost the sight of one eye. Walter became president of the CIO in 1951 and negotiated a merger between the AFL-CIO, becoming its vice-president and executive council member.</p>	<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moment.s come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Now when you were growing up in Portland, I don't know, were there any Socialist groups you could join like there were in New York or Boston?

Mentioning the Reuthers (who, at this time were socialists) here is a link to the American tradition of circumstance, and resonates with history. What is being established in Shulman's remarks is a political stance shared by many of the professors: the position of being anti-Stalinist which was historically at the right place in time. (I talk about this particular notion of circumstance in the next chapter).

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: I don't really know, I don't think so. There was one guy who -- Maishie Finks, was the town Communist, as far as I was concerned, I didn't know what it was. Except my father always told me that Communists were no good and tell me from his experiences when he was in Russia when he was a kid, how the Communist were terrible, and the Socialists wanted equality without all of the present-day terms, non-democratic aspects. So I was brainwashed in that sense.</p> <p>G: Did you, so when did you take that step to become more politically active?</p>	<p>This link with politics is interesting to me, most of the other professors had talked about politics in their homes which, in turn, influenced their college days. Shulman hadn't mentioned this, so I skipped back to Portland, to see if I had missed something.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Coherence is created as Shulman dug back and remembered Maishie Finks and his father's opinions regarding Communists- a narrative answered my question.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: Did you, so when did you take that step to become more politically active?</p> <p>S: It was just part of the ambiance of the people I hung around with, on The Michigan Daily. there were lots of very active people, Pete L____ a very well known television news person, who was from the Chicago Daily News until he died a few years ago. Pete was the sports editor, yeah, there were lots of people—can't remember some of their names now, but there were people who became nationally very prominent and active, and so there was a lot of talk around the newspaper and you stayed</p>		<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moment.s come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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there, until the paper went to bed around two o'clock, you sit around and talk; And you can learn like crazy. L___, in particular was, not only a sports editor, but was a very bright guy and second baseman on the baseball team. He was just a very very active and with it guy. I remember his coming in first day of exams one spring, yelling "Did anybody take Sociology 202?" or whatever, it was. And he said "huh" I said "How did you find out you were taking the course?" He said, "I looked at my schedule." He had never been to the class, he was just going to read all the books in two or three nights and pass the course. That was the kind of thing that was going on there. Most people weren't as faithful as student as I was.

G: And how did you find your classes?

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: <u>I loved the whole thing.</u> I couldn't have been happier.</p> <p>At the end of the year, I found the cooperative movement., I moved in and my whole life changed.</p>		<p>MEMORY TRIGGER Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>
<p>G: What was the cooperative movement.?</p>	<p>During the Depression, many schools attempted to provide economical housing such as these cooperatives. The sharing of work-study experiences developed close friendships, as Shulman describes, as well as more food for the money.</p>	

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: Did you ever get any kind of scholarship?</p> <p>S: Yeah. Well, Michigan had very few scholarships primarily graduates, <u>so I can't believe I did these things.</u> When I went back to Portland one summer, I got ahold of the Portland Michigan Society, whatever it was called and I told them they should get together and pitch in some money to send people out with their own scholarship, and so they did. And when I got back to Ann Arbor that fall, the... some, administration official called me and said "Hey, look, you can't go out doing this, we are the ones that are raising the money for scholarship." And so they told me not to do it anymore. They congratulated me on getting this scholarship for somebody else. By then, I was in the co-ops, I didn't need any money, but I got paid for being on <u>The Michigan Daily.</u> I also got a scholarship from them. Money was no problem after I found the co-ops. <u>But I was so hungry in my sophomore year. I have pictures of me, skin and bones, like a concentration camp victim.</u></p>	<p>Again, his stories about being so hungry were told with pathos. Shulman is a tall, athletic looking man and I imagine as a young man he must have needed healthy portions of food-- his joy in finding the cooperative movement. is evident in his telling of this narrative. Shulman's own ingenuity here even amazed him--in listening to him tell this story I saw his mind working like a scientist. He needed money so he went to the source and asked. In retrospect he amazed himself, for his chutzpah. I don't think it was chutzpah but his talent at problem solving and his physicist way of approaching life.</p>	<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: So, you had your friends, not only in the physics and science but the <u>Daily</u> students?</p> <p>S: Oh, I had three different groups, I had the students from the sciences, whom I saw in classes. I had <u>The Michigan Daily</u> people, and the people I lived with. Really, as bright people as you could find in the whole world. So I had three different groups, I felt very rich, I was aware of it at the time, also. We had the brightest guy I ever knew who was killed in World War II. He lived in this co-op. You could just sit at his feet. I was nineteen, he was eighteen or something like that, but he was just stunningly brilliant. And the group in the co-op, was just plainly, extremely talented people.</p> <p>G: Were they mostly Jewish?</p>	<p>Shulman was obviously so happy being with other bright young people, reinforcing his love of learning. Mentioning the "brightest guy I ever knew who was killed in World War II," links Shulman's generation with the unavoidable outside circumstances. This young man's death and Shulman's earlier narratives about his physical hunger during his first two years of college drive home to me the difficult set of circumstances that bound this generation together.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: There weren't mostly but there were quite a few Jews there. There was certainly a disproportion of percentage of Jews in the co-ops. <u>See, some of these things I haven't thought about for years.</u></p> <p>G: And you go right on for your master's degree, how did that come about?</p>	<p>Here is another meta-comment. where Shulman not only answering, he is remembering things he hasn't thought about in a long time. The dynamic process of the life history interview is underscored at times like this.</p> <p>I don't rely on memory alone, I constantly get us back on track by picking up the threads of chronology.</p>	<p>COMMENTARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Well, I graduated and applied for fellowships graduate fellowships, at MIT, Duke, and a couple other places. I think it was financial reasons, Duke offered me more money, so I went there for a year and I couldn't stand the way the Blacks were treated, so I went back to Ann Arbor. Although I did all my master's degree work at Duke, I never published it. I just picked it up at Ann Arbor and the war came along. So I came back after the war and finished the Ph.D.</p> <p>G: And did you always know from day one that you were going to get your Ph.D.?</p> <p>S: I didn't know about it, when I went out to Michigan and found out about all this graduate stuff.</p> <p>G: And you said, "That's for me?"</p> <p>S: Yeah, it allowed you to stay in school longer, eventually you can stay all your life. (we both laugh)</p> <p>G: Where were you during the War?</p>	<p>Again, Shulman expresses his love of learning.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Well, after a couple of years of graduate work I was ahhh, my sister was working in Cleveland, for what is now called NASA, the space agency. It had a different name then. And she told some people that I had because of her interest, taken a supersonic course in aerodynamics, it was part of physics—so when I went up for induction, I had to go for a physical, and when I got to the end of it, there was a guy with a lot of brass on him, he could have been a general, I don't know. He said, "I want this man." And I was the number three expert in the supersonic aerodynamics at the lab in Cleveland with one semester course. So, you get some fantastic things because almost nothing was known. And the two other guys really knew, so we did a lot of good stuff. So, stayed there. I was there for four years, I couldn't get out, couldn't eat 'cause I didn't have any brownie points. You know, you get points for serving them in this or that, and I was in inactive duty, stationary, I couldn't get the</p> <p>shark's points, so I was there for four or five years before I finally got back.</p> <p>G: You, you picked up and went back to Ann Arbor?</p>	<p>I gathered from this that Shulman worked here on trying to develop the jet airplane. . . which was a failure because the Germans got to it first. How frustrating for Shulman and his colleagues.</p>	<p>STORY-- a sad tale here-- in Shulman's eyes his past did not work out as he wished. As he reviewed his life, which appeared, to me, mostly succesful, this story surfaced as this turning did not turn precisely as he wished.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah:</p> <p>G: And what were you working on there? Did- had you already gotten your masters and wasn't your Ph.D.?</p> <p>S: Well, I had wanted to continue in theoretical physics and because of the work, I had done during the war, which was highly theoretical but it was, pragmatically useful. They wanted to get a big project, grant at Michigan in aerodynamics and there were one or two of the faculty, a young faculty, who had gotten interested in it, but I had the biggest reputation of the whole bunch, so they asked me , "Would I please move over to this project and lend my name to it?" Because that would help them get this grant because I had published some very hot things. And I don't know why I gave to that grant, I never really cared for the supersonic aerodynamics. But I did and when it came time to go back to the theoretical physics group, they only started in the fall and I got out of the other</p>	<p>Shulman's hunger for knowledge and more knowledge again surfaced; he lamented that he didn't get enough theory at this time-- he did add that he made up for this void later on.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>STORY-- Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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thing in the spring so I went to learn about electron microscopy. And by the time fall came, I had discovered so much stuff, they said, "Look, you finish by next June, why go back to that other group." So that's what I did. In a sense, it was a mistake. Eventually, I'd meet with the biophysics which was a great thing.

G: Did you have any mentors along the way, any professors that urged you on, or who were good to you?

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, there were people that were widely admired, like George Uhlenbeck at Michigan who was the co-discoverer of the spin electron. It was in his group that I was working and he was the one who persuaded me to get off the other grant. I mean, we all just admired him, he was a fantastic lecturer and a fantastic mind. He just colored the entire place by his presence. There were many good people there in the physics, and at that time, was one of the two or three best physics places in the whole world. Now, I had very close friends in the department in the same roof and there was a trio of us who simply worked and studied together all the time. And it was exciting, we could hardly wait to explain to each other, "Guess what I learned in this course?"

Again, Shulman shared with me his love of learning. Samuel Katz described this passion for learning as well when he was an undergraduate at Harvard. He described the atmosphere at the cafeteria in a similar manner:

"So there I am, every day in lunch with all my socialist science friends. It was very-- you see, one more thing about Harvard, is that you really had a bunch of really bright friends. And you learned from them. What do I mean by that? You could only take four courses and you had these poor professors and you listened to them and you read the books and so forth. But you had these friends and now each one of them was taking four courses and they had -- you could learn a hell of a lot from them. So that was exciting and it still is..."

STORY--
Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: Did you, at this point, still have your three circles of friends?</p> <p>S: Now, as a graduate student? No, that was only in the undergraduate years. In the graduate- well, I got married then, that's right. We had a circle of friends, mainly based on the sciences.</p> <p>G: When did you get married?</p> <p>S: Actually, when I went back to Ann Arbor, about a year later. It was a girl I had met in Cleveland, she pursued me effectively.</p> <p>G: (laughs) What did she do?</p>	<p>The excitement. about learning in both Shulman's and Katz's memories is infectious and I remembered my thrill at discovering soulmates at school.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: She was a psychiatrist, social worker and really an astonishing person, she came from a—</p>		<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>
<p>Side 2</p>		
<p>S: So, she was a very talented artist but she'd been pushed into social work. Her family had wanted her to become a teacher. She went into social work and since many psychiatrists are psychoanalysts, she is probably a more capable person reading people than anybody else I ever met, absolutely fantastic. And so, when I have an interpersonal question or problem, I usually go out to dinner with the people or invite them home. And after they've gone she reads them for me and that's how I make so few mistakes in personnel. Because I don't read them at all. I think everybody is great.</p> <p>G: (laughs)</p>	<p>His honesty about his intelligence and here, his lack of interpersonal objectivity was all told without any guile, stated very honestly and objectively. Here was the performance of truth within the life history. I believed him, but most importantly, I believed he believes it is true.</p>	<p>COMMENT.-ARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separated himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Ah, there are a few exceptions, I don't think I would have liked Hitler, or Ronald Reagan. <u>So, that's right</u>, after I got back to Ann Arbor, we got married about a year later. I was there about another year and a half to two years to finish the Ph.D. <u>Hmmm!</u></p> <p>G: And, then, what were you thinking that you'd like to be a professor?</p>		<p>COMMENT.- ARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separated himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: <u>At that time, it was clear, I'd hate to stay in school</u>, so I took a job at University of Pittsburgh and became an assistant professor in Physics and Biophysics there. And several years later, we'd gone to Maine for a month in the summer, with our then, first child. On the way back, I stopped to see a friend who was teaching part-time at Brandeis. Somebody had just left them in physics, so they asked me "Hey, how would you like to come here?" And I was like, thank God. to get so close to home again! And it was very, very exciting.</p>	<p>This was the first telling of his arrival at Brandeis-- watch carefully, when the second narrative about this arises.</p>	<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>
<p>G: Had—what year was this?</p>		
<p>S: Well, I came in the Fall of '53.</p>		<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.;</p>
<p>S: Well, one whole class had graduated.</p>		<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: Had you heard of Brandeis?</p> <p>S: I'd maybe, heard there was something like it, just because this friend who was an office mate at Michigan was here, I went to see him.</p> <p>G: So, you were thrilled to be back in New England?</p> <p>S: Oh yeah!</p> <p>G: Did you live in Waltham?</p>	<p>This return to New England is in part, nested by me. I am trying to organize the years and timing of all this data, so I return to quick, direct questioning to order the jumble.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: I lived in Waltham for about 10 years. Well, I had three little girls by that time and we lived down by the river and it was great, but when they became independent and could take a bus themselves, they had to walk across a big deserted field and things like that and we thought it wasn't safe. So, I looked around to see if I could find a place within walking distance for them from schools and libraries and movies and the bus, the bus to downtown Boston and things like that. Which we found such a place in Lexington, so we moved there for that reason, not because of the schools. But actually, it was a great thing to do, it gave the kids a sense of independence they could move without us. I thought that was very important.</p> <p>G: When was ahhh, how long had you been in Pittsburgh then?</p> <p>S: Four years.</p> <p>G: Did you find an immediate difference, in the students in the atmosphere, compared to Brandeis?</p>	<p>This answer pleased me. As a townie, my family and I have always been bothered by the scorn most educated people have of our town. Waltham is a mill town, mostly blue collar, it's true; I feel that I got a great education there and in retrospect, growing up in Waltham probably triggered my love of folklore. Waltham had and has many diverse ethnic groups and was not ghetto-ized like the wealthier suburbs of Boston. Anyway, Shulman's appreciation of my city added more layers to our connectiveness during the interview.</p>	<p>COMMENTARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separated himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Well, mainly, I taught graduate students in Pittsburgh, whereas here, I went immediately into undergraduates. So, it wasn't comparable. I could teach Quantum Mechanics there and had to teach Physics for Poets here.</p> <p>G: (laughs) How did you like the change?</p>	<p>Another motif for the Ph.D. to relate to-- you don't always get to teach "Quantum Physics" or "Narrative Analysis and Oral Versions of Personal Experience," we all have taught versions of Freshman Composition and Physics for Poets.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: I had a good time though, there were a lot of nice people here. <u>Actually I left Pitt because of. I hate to call it "cloud",</u> it is just about the McCarthy era, and the dean called me in one day and told me I was accused of being a subversive because I had a (unintelligible) on the computer on some reports. I didn't know I was on a black list. And it was another magazine like there were two of them. You see, with only one, they didn't have pattern but with two—I was so incensed by this I would have probably gone away from there anyhow. But we eventually got the grant we had applied for but I said you know, I said, "This is nonsense." I don't like people who take seriously stuff like that. So when, on the vacation, on the way back, I stopped here and they said "Why don't you come here?" I said "Sure," just to get away from that guy. I didn't like the dean like that. It's hard to believe, but it's true.</p> <p>G: Did . . . how did you find your colleagues here, was that guy, this friend of yours from Michigan still here?</p>	<p>Here is the second telling of Shulman's departure form Pittsburgh, the story behind the story, the hodgepodge. We diverted from the story a bit, and maybe I wouldn't have gotten this particular telling if we hadn't "bonded". The McCarthy era was a painful one, especially in academia. Brandeis University, founded in 1948 was still collecting faculty and actually came out the victor at this time. Abram Sachar, then president innocently, shrewdly didn't hesitate to hire bright, capable people, Shulman being one.</p>	<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Yeah, no problem, just moved right in.</p> <p>G: How big was the Physics Department.?</p> <p>S: Five people, maybe, I just don't remember anymore.</p> <p>G: Since it was so small here, did you meet the other professors?</p> <p>S: Oh yeah, you couldn't help it. There are only, I don't know anymore, I am sure there were fewer than a hundred faculty and my own nature is gregarious. <u>So I quickly knew everybody. In fact, that got me into a lot of trouble, because the administration wanted to make use of me because I knew everybody.</u> I was one of the few people that did. I had to work actively to get out of the administration.</p> <p>G: Were you successful?</p>	<p>Another folk motif for the academic folk group-- dislike of administrative duties.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>COMMENTARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: <u>I was successful by an interesting ploy.</u> I took my first sabbatical after I had been here six years. Went to Geneva to work in a biophysics lab there, and I tried to figure out, "How the hell can I get out of doing all those things again" because they were beginning to write me letters about coming back into this and that. And I had a bright idea, it's not that I was ever well dressed. But, I said I am simply not going to dress up anymore and from then on, I went around like I am right now, no tie, no jacket, in t-shirts. Things like and that made so many people uncomfortable that I was not—Really, it's hard to believe right now, but that was the tenor at the times. You wore a suit, a tie, and a regular shirt and I got out of it that way. I tell people that and they are incredulous now because it's unthinkable today. Maybe I started the whole trend. Who knows? (laughs)</p> <p>G: It was you. (laughs)! Did it leave you, when you came in, you had tenure, did it leave you time to do your own research?</p>	<p>If only, it were still so simple! One of the things I fond most interesting and meaningful to me in the course of my research was the shared experiences, motifs of academic life... hearing about physics for poets or ways to get out of administrative duties reinforced my membership to this group I had so long wanted to join.</p>	<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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I deleted the next two paragraphs, as Shulman asked me to, starting up programs is not ever easy and some of the facts and opinions are sensitive here. In order not to offend parties concerned, I complied with Shulman's wishes. I don't think this ruptures the hodgepodge of his life; in fact it shows how memory often times overtakes answering in this context. If Shulman had been merely answering questions, he might have glossed over this question. However, caught up in the spirit of the interview, he goes into the answer with details, then, after the fact asks me if this thing will be published.

G: How did you find the students? Were they--

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: They were good I got very involved with the students because I've always been a very interested teacher and so I spent a great deal of time devising new strategies for teaching. And I'd try them out and I'd develop a very loyal group of followers each year. I</p>	<p>His insights and evaluations of his students were candid and very thoughtful. As Shulman got to his life as a teacher, there was more comfort, he talked about this aspect of academic life easily and honestly.</p>	<p>MEMORY TRIGGER</p> <p>Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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mean, the students—you know, I wasn't much older than they were at the time. So, we simply became very close. Then, as soon as it got to graduate students, then life changed entirely because it was a whole new group. We had six graduate students. Hmm, one summer while I was in Europe, the new chairman of physics moved into the biology department., since I was doing research in biophysics, at that time. It was a plausible move. So, I got involved then, with the biology students. And that, that was fun because they were nice people. The physics graduate students were, —well, it's harder to get a very good student in physics than it was to get a very good student in biology. So the biology graduate students were by large, better than the physics graduate students, then. After the physics department. built up, then the situation switched. There were so few physics undergraduate students even at that time, still today, that you don't have very many people going into physics that, so the very best ones are simply grabbed by the best schools. It was hard to get good physics graduate students.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Did you, did you have funds to give the, stipends and things?

S: Yeah, we had a fight about it every year, but somehow, we won.

G: How many graduate students did you have, what was an average class?

S: I was thinking maybe five, six a year, something like that. I don't remember anymore.

G: Did you, scientists from Harvard, MIT, did you all cooperate with each other?

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, we had area meetings, and we'd go to each other's colloquiums, things like that. Oh, we still do. It's not a single-one time, I tried to set up, (I'd forgotten this), I forgot whether it was, television or radio... set up a communication among all the institutions in Greater Boston. So that we did not have to go into Harvard to listen to their colloquium and they didn't have to come here to hear ours. I forgot all about that. I don't even remember what happened. But I tried organizing that.

G: Did it work for awhile?

S: Something worked, I don't really remember anymore, it couldn't have worked very well or otherwise I would have remembered more.

G: (laughs) Did you, did you ever go to any of the famous seminars, that Sachar started on the life histories—

Another meta-comment. here, because I was prodding, he discovered another memory embedded in his brain ...the score is now three, I really feel accomplished now!

MEMORY TRIGGER

Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Oh, the Gen Ed S? I loved that, I used to go every time I could go. In fact, it was almost compulsory attendance for me.

Education S was originally intended to be a special course for seniors, it was an adaptation of the program that had long existed at All Souls College at Oxford, where statesmen, scholars and professional people were invited as Fellows for various periods of time during the school year. They would discuss their views on their lives and work. At Brandeis, twelve or fifteen notable guests were invited for the year, chosen by the seniors and Abram Sachar (the president of Brandeis at this time). These guests were to talk about the turning points in their lives, why they made certain decisions in their lives, how they evaluated success or failure. They had people like Roosevelt, Leo Szilard, the Hungarian scientist who came to America and joined Albert Einstein in warning the American government that Hitler was well on his way to completing the atom bomb; Allen Dulles, head of the CIA provided an interesting and tense evening.

ANSWER
Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Did you get to meet with the speakers?

S: Oh sure. Yeah, you would get invited. There was a faculty panel with each one and every so often, I would be on the panel. I was one on one with Eleanor Roosevelt and she was a very smart lady. And (unintelligible) and I were sitting at dinner, and I was at this end of the table, and she was around the corner, so we were sort of facing each other. And her son, I guess it was, Franklin Jr., was running for governor or something like that. I forget what he was running for. Oh, governor of New York, I guess. And she said something that really captured all of us: said he won't win. And he was a heavy favorite at the time. So I said "why" and she said, "Well, a politician has to have some things that are really important to him, that he can back up against and say, 'Here I am not going to budge any further,' and

The week after the talk, a faculty panel gave their response to the message and students handed in a written evaluation of the discussions.

Most of the professors I interviewed spoke lovingly of this panel. Indeed, reading about it and hearing the various narratives give me chills. I had once given a guest lecture on personal narratives of encounters with the famous and stories like these fascinate me; as seen in the next question, I lost the interview for a bit because I was awed by the fact that Shulman met Eleanor Roosevelt. I was so impressed that I could not even articulate a proper question.

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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Franklin, my Franklin doesn't have anything that's important to him. And people are going to sense it and they will not vote for him. That's a remarkable insight. It was true. They didn't vote for him and so I've told many people this story and it's part of the great insight of Eleanor Roosevelt.

G: Was she, could you ask her questions and was she . . .

S: Oh, we just sat and talked.

G: That's great, who else do you remember from that group?

I am not ready to lose this brush with the famous. I egg Shulman on, begging for more stories about the famous ones.

REQUEST
FOR MORE
INFORMA-
TION-- I
wanted to
hear more
specifics about
these
encounters,
but he just
tossed it off
casually!

ANSWER

Information
given with
little or no
embellish-
ment.

REQUEST
FOR MORE
INFORMA-
TION

He got into
the spirit of
things and
told me more

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, the one that I really came close to was Pierre— Oh Pierre Emmanuel and he had just won, I think, for the second time, the Prix Concorde in Paris, in France for his poetry. I didn't know at the time, but he was already designated to be the head of culture for the French radio and television. And (laughs) he was invited and he had to give a Gen Ed S program and there's this guy speaking English... and I remember I sat with my feet up on the chair in front of me and when he finished speaking for the first part of the program an hour later, I couldn't move my feet, my feet were paralyzed. He was spellbinding he could have been any kind of dictator he wanted to be, in any language. So I got to meet him and we became very close. So after that, you know, we spent much time eating together here and doing things and I'd go to visit him in Paris until he died two years ago. But that really changed a lot of my life because through him I got to meet a lot of things, including finding out they really do eat refried beans on Saturday night in Paris, or whatever it was. (Both laugh.)

Pierre Emmanuel was a French poet and Resistance fighter. Shulman's respect and description of Emmanuel thrilled me.

STORY
Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: Did, when you went to Europe, was it always connected with work?</p>	<p>I resumed order here, Shulman helped when he told me that he kept a friendship with Emmanuel and would visit with him whenever his work brought him to Europe.</p>	
<p>S: Oh sure. Yeah, the first meeting I ever went to was in Vienna, the Biochemistry meeting. Oh that's not true! I went to a meeting in Paris, before that, that's right, a bacterial virus meeting. There were all these famous Europeans and I was such a young kid, <u>I was in awe of all of them. But I had done something that made me invited, so that was alright.</u></p>	<p>Modestly/proudly he talked about being at this meeting. . . he said he was in awe, but also recognized that he had earned his way into this group as well.</p>	<p>STORY/COMMENTARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>
<p>G: Is there a strong bond between you and the European scientists?</p> <p>S: Oh those who work in the same kinds of things, you do, yeah. Since I have shifted fields several times, I'm less bonded than most people.</p>	<p>And once again, hodgepodge rules as we turned to his career and connections to Europe and Israel. Talking about Israel brought out some interesting stories and connections.</p>	<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Did you, have you ever been to Israel or worked at the Weitzman Institute?

S: I will now be going. I think it's for the twenty-sixth time to Israel. I was, oh when I was in Geneva. I was invited by an electronmicropocist who was passing through Geneva to go to Israel to visit and lecture for a few weeks. So I went, that was in '59. I absolutely fell in love with the place. And so my next two sabbaticals were spent there. I took a couple of leaves and went there, and actually went there and actually tried to live there for a couple of years.

At least one other of the professors interviewed had this strong connection with Israel and had tried living there.

MEMORY TRIGGER

Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.

G: What year was that?

S: I was there in the '73 War, so around that time, my family didn't want to go so I went by myself for a couple of years. It didn't seem right so I came back, but I've been really, I've been there an awful lot. You speak Hebrew?

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Yeah, fluently with many mistakes. Did you know that my grandfather was a teacher?

Shulman's asking me if I spoke Hebrew was another test of my Jewishness, again tied up in my grandfather, as you will see in the following exchange.

I brush off the Hebrew test because my Hebrew is rusty and I know how beautifully my grandfather spoke Hebrew and I don't want to shame the family.

I break the flow here a bit because my mother had always been reticent about her family history. My maternal grandfather died when I was in first grade and the knowledge I have about him is sketchy at best. I had always thought he was a Hebrew School teacher and I most unprofessionally interrupt the hodgepodge of Shulman's life for information about my grandfather.

S: Your grandfather? He didn't teach.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: He taught some Hebrew, yeah.

S: Not in the Hebrew school.

G: I think so. He always talked about teaching in Portland.

S: He may have taught before I got to the Hebrew school 'cause I was the youngest in the family. I know he and my father used to speak Hebrew to each other.

G: Was your father a Zionist?

Until 1986, when I was in Israel studying, I had no idea what a Zionist my grandfather was. If Shulman's father hung out with my grandfather, he, too must have shared this interest. N.B. Speaking Hebrew in Portland, Maine between two Eastern-European Jews is not "the norm." The usual language of the immigrant was Yiddish, knowing Hebrew is the mark of both dedication to Zionism and education. My brothers had the honor and luck of learning their early Hebrew from my grandfather.

I had recently found out that my mother's father was an ardent Zionist and since his father and my grandfather were friends, it seemed like a logical question.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Oh boy! He was almost only a Zionist! The only books we had in the house were Zionist books.

G: Did he ever get to see Israel?

S: Yeah, I spent a sabbatical there, and I was able to finance him, bring him to Israel for six months, he had an apartment. there, right near us. He could watch his grandchildren play in the yard. I still remember him

A beautiful story here. Neither of my maternal grandparents got to go to Israel and this story brings tears to my eyes because I know how happy this scene would have made them.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

MEMORY TRIGGER/
SPECIAL CODES;
HEBREW AND YIDDISH

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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on the day he arrived. You know, we picked him up and put him in his apartment. Next day we took a trip to the Galilee, we had a small car and his three little grandchildren, three girls were singing what they call school songs. And they were *zmiros* ⁴ (you know what that means?) And here is this man, riding in the Galilee with his children, grandchildren singing *zmiros* . I thought he was going to explode with joy. So, it was a real *mitzvah*.⁵ I tried, when the war was over, I saved an enormous amount of money and I gave him and my mother two thousand dollars, which is an enormous amount of money to go to Israel and they refused it. They thought I should keep it for myself; I, I was really unhappy about that. By that time, my mother died, so she never got there. But he was a little annoyed, a because, he spoke fluent Hebrew at the time I spoke pidgin Hebrew, but I spoke the correct dialect. So although he could read everything, he couldn't talk to anybody. He had to depend on his tongue-tied son to translate (laughs).

G: (laughs) That's funny. How long did he get to stay there?

Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: He stayed about six months. Oh, it was really thrilling thing for him.

G: Yeah, I can imagine that, now what year it was that, that he got to come.

S: It must have been about 1963-64. Something like that.

G: Did you consider yourself a Zionist as well?

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Oh yeah, oh always. I remember the first time I went there, the plane was late, (have you, have you been to Israel?)

Asking me if I had ever been to Israel is yet another test of my Jewishness. And I think I understand why it's key that he asked me here. Landing in Israel for the first time, for most Jews is a spiritual thing. When I first went in 1974 with my sister and my mother, it got really quiet on the plane as circled the airport, over the loud speakers, Israeli folk songs played softly and I cried. The land of my people was all I could think about. The Israelis looked like me, I never had to worry about kosher food or other Jewish references. Belonging to a culture so deeply was so new and thrilling for me. Shulman, as shown repeatedly through the transcript was a great storyteller and by asking me (self consciously) if I had ever been to Israel, is assured that I will feel what he felt as he told the next narrative.

MEMORY TRIGGER

Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.

G: Uh huh.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, you know what the thing going in the airport looks like now. Then when

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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you arrived, the only thing that you came into looked like a warehouse—not a very large one and when you went through the formalities, you come out in the back, of like the loading dock. There were spotlights on you, so as you walk down the stairs, and either side of this loading dock, anybody came to visit to see you, could see you inside, yelling at you! Say when we were coming down like cattle, and I didn't know anybody, I had this invitation and I saw people falling to their knees and kissing the ground and I didn't feel like that at all. I was very surprised, but there was a message for me you know, since the plane was late, I could go into Tel Aviv and stay in a hotel overnight and come to Rehovet the next day . I had been invited by the vice-minister. OK, so when I got to the information place, before I got this thing, I asked if there was a message for me and there was this message from Professor B___ . And oh it didn't tell me what to do, that's right! So it was late, it must have been eleven o'clock at night. And so the man says "What are you going to do?", And I "I don't really know. I

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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guess I'll just have to find a place." He said, "Why don't you let me call Professor B- I said, "At this hour?" He said "Don't worry about it" I said, "No, no, you'll bother him". He says, "It's not a bother for a fellow Jew" or something like that, so he called up and B___ told me to stay there and come in on the morning on the bus. I went outside, I got into a hotel and I naturally, I couldn't sleep. I walked out and I see people selling, you know, peanuts and whatever there were. I look and there was this, a man, must have been sixty, sitting there. He is reading a book while he is waiting for customers. You know, around midnight, you know, I'd never seen anything like that before anywhere else. Then I went (I was hungry) to a restaurant and three or four boys, you know, eighteen, twenty, came and they all look like thugs to me. And I hear them talking and slowly I didn't realize I understood that much Hebrew. I discover they were talking about the fact that one of their gang had a problem and they had to try and figure a way to help him.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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And then I finished eating. I found out I was right on the beach in Tel Aviv. It was the first day and I didn't know where I was, by then I'd been walking up and could see the lights of what I now know is Jaffa in the south Ramat Aviv in the north. I didn't know at the time, I looked to the south and suddenly I was overwhelmed with the whole thing and I faced towards these lights of what I thought was Egypt and I started screaming, you don't mind the language, do you? I started screaming into the wind, all by myself, in the middle of the night "Fuck you Nasser! This is ours!" I was just screaming, and I had no idea all this was inside of me. So that was the drama of my first night in Israel.

Here is story and commentary here, "... that was the drama of my first night in Israel." As I said earlier, one's first experience in Israel is truly spiritual-- at least if you were raised in families like mine and Shulman's. Studying Israeli and Jewish history while growing up and knowing that the Arab nations all around want to annihilate your people at any given moment. adds a certain tension to the joy of being there. I'm not sure when Shulman's story takes place, but Nasser was the Egyptian president from 1954-1970 and was seen as a true villain by most Jews. Also, what is not mentioned enough about Israel is its beauty. There are so many other issues to debate that her physical beauty is overlooked until you get there. Hearing Hebrew spoken, seeing the ancient beauty and places from the Bible makes the trip an emotional one.

STORY
Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Wow! And that trip lasted, how long?

"Wow" doesn't express the power and understanding I had for his story. It blew me away. I have many relatives who moved there, some from eastern Europe when Israel was still Palestine, a cousin from America who moved there in the early sixties, others who moved there in the late seventies as well as some from Russia who just moved there within the last year. I have never heard a more moving story than Shulman's.

S: A couple of weeks. I . . . I wrote a summary of everything that happened everyday and sent it to my family. We just recently found it you know, I don't know how many pages, so I xeroxed everything so that the kids can have copies.

Shulman is very conscious of the power of his first visit and proudly told me about his journal/letters. Xeroxing these letter for his children is a sign of his own life review. Finding the letters and remembering the intensity of this trip is something he obviously wants to share and remind his family.

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

G: Is that story in there?

Ever the evangelical folklorist, I wanted to make sure he had recorded this powerful story for his family.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: I'm sure it is.

ANSWER

Information
given with
little or no
embellish-
ment.

G: Did you, when I spoke to
you on the phone, you
asked me if I was still
Jewish. I consider myself
varying degrees of it. Are
you, do you consider
yourself an observant Jew?

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: No, I am very traditional Jew but not an observant one. There is no way to it. I stopped praying when I found out about the Holocaust. Not that I prayed very much, but I simply, I still feel at home in any synagogue, every synagogue in the world. I own it, I belong there, it belongs to me, but that's tradition, but that's tradition. But to let something like that happen, I am not praying to anybody who lets that happen.

G: Yeah. Did you raise your family with a sense of Jewishness?

This question of Jewishness was a squirmy motif here. All the professors I interviewed were Jewish, but most, like the policy of Brandeis University, considered themselves non-sectarian. What does that mean? I talk about this in a separate chapter, but briefly, it means they consider themselves professors first, they are proud of their identity but are not religious in the sense that a professor at Yeshiva University in New York would be. Shulman, like many of the other faculty developed his own sense of Jewishness, not tied to the law or to a God who could let the Holocaust happen.

COM- MENTARY

Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, it's a hard thing to do, feeling the way I did. My wife is a convert, she converted to be married. We have a Jewish house, I mean the kids know they are Jewish. ... We would go to a temple and you know, on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. I tell them not for the religious purpose but to identify yourself with the fate of the Jewish people. I said that's all I can ask you, Jews have trouble anywhere, that's your trouble, too, it concerns all people. I said, I can't ask you to be religious because I can't be myself. That's the essence of my thought. On the other hand, I am intensely Jewish My wife thinks of herself as a social climber, because she said she couldn't imagine living as rich a life anywhere else. And so it's a Jewish family. I have one kid is not particularly interested, but the other three are very definitely Jewish.

G: How many children do you have?

Finally I understood Shulman's remarks in the beginning. He had told me how unaware he had been of the amount of Yiddish spoken in his parent's house until his wife visited there with him. At this point I understood how this could be; his wife converted. Also his questions about my Jewishness, if I knew Yiddish and Hebrew make more sense as one of his children is not particularly interested in Judaism.

COMMENT-ARY

Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Four

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

G: And there are three girls and a boy-

S: Three girls and a boy, yeah.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

G: When, a just skipping back to what you mentioned about Ann Arbor, is it the first time you had encountered anti-Semitism?

As he talked about his religious philosophy, it occurred to me that he only mentioned Anti-Semitism once, unlike others in this study. Not that every Jew has encountered this, but certainly it was more common for Shulman's generation to encounter this. So, I "skipped back" and add to the hodgepodge, filling in gaps for my understanding of his life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Yeah, there were incidents, probably in Portland, the only one I remember, you know wasn't of any importance to me. My best friend, so to speak, at the time was living on the other side of the fence behind the house, Conrad Mc Dowell—when I got to be twelve or something like that I could no longer come to their house to play with him and his sister because of his sister. They didn't want me. OK, who needed her anyhow.

G: Did you find any, how was the science world, as far as being open minded?

S: They, by that time they had no choice, they would drop dead without all the Jews in it. I remember many years later, being at a meeting in Naples and there was a woman named Rita Aviti, whom I still see occasionally, who was from Argentina. We were sitting on the beach at Capri, talking and she said, "What's the status of Jews in science in America?" (Because she was from Argentina) And I said, "Well, you know about 30% of all the significant scientists are Jewish." She says, "Oh, just like home in Argentina (laughs)

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Skipping back down to your work in science, um—

"Skipping back" again, this technique to the key in finding out how order is created out of this hodgepodge. I think, in retrospect, I used this technique to fill in the holes. As the life history fell into place, I realized somethings weren't made clear, sometimes I was not as aggressive as I should be at the initial telling, other times, I didn't realize until another point was made that something key was missing. Thus, I "skipped back" and ordered the jumble.

Tape #2 Shulman

S: No we got a lot of very good things but, I made a discovery about brain growth about twenty years ago and nobody believed it and it's in a direction that very few people in the neuroscience have any interest, uh, appreciation. So, it's been pretty lonely ever since. But, you know, they're stupid.

This narrative seems out of place, but it's not at all. I love this story because it illustrates how a way of life and a happenstance are much more the catalyst for circumstances than we as rational beings like to think. Read on:

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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Actually, —on the first visit to Israel, I absolutely loved the Sabbath there. You'd walk down the middle of the street and there were no cars. I knew so many people there, I would go over to Yossi's house and we'd have tea and a cookie and then he'd say 'Why don't we go and visit Raman?' So, we'd all go over and visit Raman, so we'd have tea and cookies there. Went around being with people, life being with people is a Jewish orientation and it was just so thrilling. I said when I get back I have to do something, give me a little bit of this feeling of Sabbath is a time to be different from what you are all week. And I thought about it and I came up with something which, this sounds kind of dull right now, every Friday

Traditionally, the Sabbath is a day of rest among Jews. One is supposed to not work at all, separate the day from the rest of the week. The Sabbath starts on Friday evening at sundown, candles are lit to welcome the Sabbath and a good meal including a wine ceremony before the meal help make the Sabbath special. As Shulman told me, he observes the Sabbath in his own way, by reading something out of his own field, "It was a strange thing to do." Strange maybe when compared to the traditional Sabbath, but fitting to me. I rarely observe the traditonal Sabbath on my own, but

MEMORY TRIGGER

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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afternoon, *Erev Shabbat*,⁶ I'd go to the main library, not the science library and I would sit there and read any journal I could get my hands on, and pick any one, whether it was Turkish Art or I didn't make any [distinctions]—I wanted to do something different, to honor the Sabbath. It was a strange thing to do. And I read some psychology journals and one day I was reading one and it mentioned the kinds of problems that kids have around puberty, intellectual problems. I said, "It seems to me that's the same kind of thing I read about in about two or three year old kids, that's the same, maybe it's the same kind of thing that's happening in the brain." So at lunch that day, I was having lunch with Karen Bloch, who's psychology- you know Karen?

G: I interviewed her last week.

S: Oh, yeah, on the Cape?

try and have the house picked up by Friday and I try and cook something that smells good so my home will have the smell of something special and respectful for the Sabbath.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Yeah

Minor break in the flow, but key to his story telling. Whether he wanted to know if I understood Yiddish or Hebrew, basic Jewish beliefs or knew the persons involved, Shulman, ever the consummate storyteller wanted to make sure I had enough contextual knowledge to fully appreciate the joke or story. I should add that he seemed excited that I had seen Bloch, and obviously wanted to know about her, but wanted to get on with this story.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: I haven't seen her for fifteen years, something like that, but she knows everything. So, I said, "Karen, where would I find data on brain growth, brain structure, tell me the name of a book," and everything came out of her like that. So after lunch, I went over to the library and found the book. It was very strange that we had this book, 'cause nobody here was interested in brain at all. And it didn't have any data. I'd stand there and try and figure out what to do and I noticed the book right next to it had essentially the same title. So, I opened it up and there was the first data found on brain growth. So I called her up and I said, "You know, Karen, uh,..." I said, "The book you told me about was in the library, but it didn't have the data, but the one next to it had the data I was looking for.

And she said, "How many books have been published since time began?"

I knew the library of Congress had something like ten million, so I said, "Maybe twenty million."

She said, "I was only one book away."

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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And then the second thing almost destroyed me, I said, "You know, Karen, men have 7% more brain by weight than women."

And she said, "Don't worry, Eddy, women will love you no matter how much water you have in your brain."

(we both explode into laughter)

That was the beginning of the relationship. She was really great! What's happening with her now?

G: She left psychology and is very involved in saving Cape Cod and all that environmental stuff.

S: Where does she live now?

G: North Easton

S: Oh, way up there.

G: She's also involved with her artwork.

S: I didn't know about that, well, she's a very talented person.

Story completed, he now quizzes me about Bloch, eager for details about his long lost colleague and guide into his new field of study.

I know Shulman is happy to hear about his old friend, but I am deliberately vague, wanting to protect my relationship with her, not wanting to spill her life history out to him.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: Incredible. In fact she sends her very best, she was very excited that I was coming to see you.

S: Well, thank you, well she really led me into the field I'm in now, by just sending me to that book.

G: Well, what is it that you were doing there?

Neat segue way into his work. I must say, as a folklorist who only took Chemistry for Poets a long time ago, I was amazed that I could follow him enough to understand his fascination with this data. He is obviously a great teacher!

S: I discovered that the brain doesn't grow uniformly, but grows in periods of very rapid growth and slow growth. So that the discovery of the brain growth stages which I first published in 1974, nobody ever believed that until I was attacked pretty vigorously in *the* journal of brain research in '85, I guess it was. And so, what I did was take all the copies and I redid all the literature analysis and in '86 I published all the data showing beyond any question that the brain growth stages are real. That ended the—by that time ,

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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people had told me things like, it can't be true because it's so important if it were true, it would already be known, you know, that kind of thing. Or, people would say, even if it were true, what difference does it make? That's the kind of reason I had. The basic reason is easy to understand. Almost everybody who goes into the field of brain studies, goes into the study of neurons, single cells, and studying the membranes and stuff like that, Only I did neuron as the atom of the brain. And this is something not true. The— activity among neurons is such that on the average, each neuron connects with ten thousand other neurons. So to say that any one neuron does one thing is doing ten thousand different things and communicating it to ten thousand other things, so roughly a hundred million combinations, so neuron is not the atom of the brain, some networks may be the atom of the brain. Well, they don't understand this, they prefer to think that they're going to build up the neurons to the structure of the whole brain—absolute nonsense. So, they don't

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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like to be told this, that they're not really studying the brain, and so they're not interested in what I do. So, I've had a lot of trouble for getting support for that. And I get no psychological support from my colleagues here. Well, some are older people who are doing other things, who have no stake in neurology, as they call it, I get a lot of support from them.

G: Do you have any students you're working with now?

S: Well, I have, I took what was called early retirement. couple of years ago. So, now I just have some undergraduates who work here. During the year I usually have four, you know, one in each class, and then as the senior graduates, I bring in another freshman. For this summer, there is sort of one and a half people working here. The one who works here more or less full time is away today.

G: As an early retiree, you get full rights to the lab?

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: You have to negotiate that. I said, "I'll leave early, use my salary for whatever you want to use it for, but I want a signed contract that I can keep the lab for x years. So I have that.

G: Why did you take an early retirement.?

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, actually, it was important at the time, it was financially advantageous because they would pay me, I think it was 40% of my salary and add that to social security and I got more money that way than by continuing. And I was sick of being ignored. Now that was stupid because they don't even see me. I'm the invisible man around here. Except as I say, for the older faculty, they're very good young people here, don't get me wrong. They're important, they're doing good work, I like what they do, it's just that they don't like what I do. So, I wanted to get out of the hassle. I don't like meetings. I'm not a great organizer. I'm a great starter, but I'm not a great organizer. I started many important things but I don't know how to finish them off. So, I simply wanted to get out of those kinds of things. I didn't like stopping teaching because I'm a good teacher. OK, I'll stop for a year, even though I'm a good teacher, I don't want to go back to it. Because now, I come in, I do what I want all day and I go home and nobody bothers me. And I like this.

G: How old were you when you retired?

Interesting description of a turning in his life. His love of learning hasn't wavered, but the way he works it out in his life has. "And I was sick of being ignored. . ." Shulman feels his age perhaps. He wanted to get out of the hassle and responsibilities that tie him down. During his school days when he was beginning to learn about physics and the rest of the world, he talked about all the others with whom he came in contact; now, . . . "I come in, I do what I want all day and I go home and nobody bothers me. And I like this." A hodgepodge of story and commentary--of how a person comes to terms with his age, changes or turnings are required and Shulman makes his.

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: That was two years ago, I was 67.

G: What about your other colleagues that started about the same time, did anyone take early retirement?

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

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S: Let's see, in this department., there was only one guy who survived to retire. He retired a few years before I did. He was very much a loner anyhow, so he doesn't talk to anybody. No, all the others—is three or four years younger than I, F—must be a good ten years younger than I, H— but he came just a few years ago. He's almost my age. There are three or four people in this age group or close to it, but they interact. I'm collaborating with a couple of guys in biochemistry, essentially my age. In fact, one of the things that I was surprised about, I told all of them so I can tell you, is I oversaved three times, I had no idea, I'm floating in money, in a relative sense. There's a big switch, you should know this, when you retire, you stop paying for retirement., stop paying social security, stop paying the pension fund, it's an enormous amount of money, so you don't have a to earn that much. So, when I thought of this, I

It pays to be practical for retirement. I remembered this and other conversations about retirement. Initially, I listened politely, but when I got my job at Grinnell College and the Human Relations representative gave me my talk about TIA-CREF, etc. and I listened to friends of mine talk about investment.s, savings, etc. I went back to this segment. of the transcript and took stock of my situation and vowed to follow Shulman's and other voices of experience from this project.

MEMORY TRIGGER

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called half a dozen friends in different parts of the country who had retired. One in Woods Hole, one in California, in Florida, the Midwest, I said, "How much money do you need to live on like an academic when you're retired?" I said, "No frills, no travel, how far you see the numbers thirty, thirty-five thousand dollars. " Turned out to be true. So, saving came close my full salary, absolutely didn't need it, so in that sense, oversaved. But it's OK, what would I have bought , another tennis racket? Another present for the kids? So, it turned out to have been a brilliant thing to have done—that's how all the guys here now that I meet with at lunch time. I said, "Look check it, because you may decide you want to use the money now instead of later." And several have looked into it and said it's true....

G: When did you move down to the Cape?

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, I had bought this Cape house, twenty five years ago. We used to go to North Easton for a couple weeks every summer with a childhood friend from Portland, Maine, Dave Simons and one of the physicists from here asked me where I went and he came. So, we were three families, each of which had four kids. We'd go and we had a great time. But I always wanted to go down to Woods Hole, because there was so much going on there. And, my wife said, "What are you going to do with a bunch of scientists?" She had her own psychotherapy business and things like that with ten or twelve associates and she really had a big deal going. So one spring, I says to her, no, it was in April, "Tomorrow morning I'm going down to Woods Hole. I'm going to rent a place for a month and I don't give a damn whether you come or not." So when she saw I was determined, she rode down with me, we rented a house, for a month. I still remember, that the third night, we were putting the kids to bed, after we had them to bed, she said, "Look," she had discovered how many things are going

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on there, enormous intellectual capacity of the place. She said, "You've been right all these years and I've been wrong." I said, "In that case, go buy a house tomorrow." She said, "Where are you getting the money?" I said, "Don't worry about it. Here's five thousand dollars." She found out later where I got the money. I can tell you because it's a good family story:

We were building a house in Lexington and there you don't give the money to the contractor until you can test the system. And we couldn't test the system, the heating system until the fall. So this was March or April and we had five thousand dollars in the bank waiting for them. So at lunch I said to the guy, I said, "I have this five thousand dollars which I have to give the contractor in September, October when you can turn the heat up. What do I do with it in the mean time, leave it in the bank or what?" So he says, "Put it in the stock market." I say, "You know, it's not my money." "Just put in the stock market." "OK, what do I buy?" So he told me the name of a company. He said—you know, where I

Shulman recognized the glint I got in my eye when he started a good family story and obligingly set me up for this one!

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got the stupidity to do it, I don't know. But I bought all five thousand dollars worth of shares of this company and when it came time in August, it had doubled. I had five thousand dollars. That's where I got the money (laughs). So for years I had a picture of the guy who ran this thing, a guy by the name of James Ling, had a picture of him on the mantle. He bought us this house (laughs again)

G: That's great (laughs)!

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: I cannot believe I did it except I know I did it.

Anyhow, so we bought that house. And it changed the nature of the family completely. It's worth you knowing about it. All the kids would come for that summer house. They were there all summer and they ...were with friends in their own age group. They are closer to those friends than any friends they had in Lexington. They know them intensely. They get together all the time and they communicate and they will come back to the summer place where they would never come back to the barn in Lexington. So we all found out the same thing. Retire here and your kids will come. It's a very important lesson.

G: When you said there was a lot going on in Woods Hole, how did you tap into that?

The hodgepodge is flexible enough to not only contain Shulman's life history but his family's as well. These are great descriptions of summer folklife. Going to the Cape in the summer is very much a New England tradition; even if your family was not lucky enough to own a house, you usually knew someone who would invite you down for the weekend at least once during the summer. My father's younger sister lived in Hyannis while I was in junior high and high school, so I, too did the Cape.

COMMENTARY

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: It's there, you can't miss it. You see, what happened at Woods Hole in a typical day: you get up in the morning, you feed the kids, and there's a free bus that collects all the people associated with the lab, the marine biology lab and it goes down to the beaches, the lab, Stoney Beach.

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There, they have instructors that teach swimming at all levels. So, you feed your kid, put him on the bus and he gets down there. He gets lessons. By this time, Mama has arrived with a sandwich or two, and she goes in the water and the kids are playing with each other. There are roughly twenty-odd kids at the same age. So, they have these groups and they're home after lunch time. After lunch, you come back to the beach and at 4 o'clock, the arts and crafts school opens. Oh, I forgot in the middle of the day there's a science school, you go to school for a couple of hours. I don't know how I forgot that, anyway it's from eleven to one or something like that. And they have the arts and crafts school and in the evening, they either play with their friends or they have the two women who taught theater and we usually have a Gilbert and Sullivan opera and a regular play each year. And the kids would work on it starting when they were six or eight, they could help in moving furniture, something like that. The kids lived a life you can't even imagine...

G: And was this all free?

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: What did it cost? The science school cost about twenty five dollars, I don't know what it cost. You can not buy a situation like that, so these kids were just thriving. Every kid there was a child of people who were doing things. Usually both Mama and Papa. So it was a select group and it was on such a high level...<u>I remember one night my son was six</u>, he and ... a couple of little boys and a couple of little girls—Charlie was eight, He was the kid next door, his father was a pathologist, and they had caught fish because they had gone fishing. And Charlie sort of opened the fish up and two of them were still breathing hard—where can you learn things like this? So we try not to tell people about this, so they won't come down and spoil it.</p> <p>G: So what years did you do that?</p> <p>S: About twenty-five years ago.</p> <p>G: And did your children all go into academics, how did it effect their lives?</p>	<p>Amazing, I had no idea Woods Hole was so active this way; my impression of it had always been science and nothing else.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: The oldest one got her master's degree in Middle English in England, and she works in Hollywood now. She's a writer. Number two kid ended up as an assistant professor at NYU, she's in operations research, basically. The third one is an architect. See, those are the kids right there (points to a photograph). The professor is on the left, the architect is in the middle and the Hollywood one is on the right, and that's my son.

G: And what does he do?

S: He's a carpenter in the summer and he's a graduate student in English here. He's going to take his Ph.D. qualifying this year. If you have any goats, we'll arrange a *shittach*.⁷ (laughs)

OK, every now and then, my curiosity for details has me lose my authority within the interview. Now, Shulman is the negotiator. . . I have to say I got so embarrassed reading this over, and then I thought, well, I am a nice young Jewish woman and getting asked about a *shittach* is par the course. I play along with him, then return to the negotiator of questions.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

SPECIAL
CODE:
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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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G: How old is he? (laughs)
... One of the people I talked to earlier, I was asking how his life had affected his children, he said, "Someone said to me a long time ago that there was no way my children could not go to college. It was part of the plan."

S: Hmm, sure, of course, thank God they're bright enough. But you see plenty of families where kids are in trouble.

G: (pauses) Is your wife retired as well?

I paused here, perhaps waiting for him to elaborate on this. Since it seems that his children are doing well, I push on, rather than talk about kids in trouble.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: She retired. I couldn't even believe it. she had a very thriving practice and she really is an astonishing psychotherapist. She stopped. I mean she's very busy, she's a talented artist and she's on two town committees and she took a woodworking class and she takes art classes and she paints. She's so busy. It's not like the business you see in Florida, you go down there and all the old people are so busy doing nothing. I don't know what they do. They're clearly busy. But I go there and visit my sister and I can't even imagine

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what's going on there. But she's a very busy person. Then we go to Israel and she's sort of an amateur archaeologist— for about twenty five years, since we started going to Israel and one of our friends there is the director of archaeology for the Tel-Aviv museum. So he hires her for three days a week, five hours a day to work in the museum with him. No pay of course. One day a week there's an association of English speaking women, I don't know what it's called and every Tuesday morning from 9-12, they have an archaeology lecture from one of Israel's great archaeologists. So it's a course, she goes to that. And then this year on Fridays, they're preparing a dig—just north east of Tel-Aviv, just on the border, and so she was invited to join that group. So she's busy five days a week with archaeology. She comes home absolutely thrilled almost every day. I bought a small apartment. in Tel Aviv, twenty-odd years ago, too. That was an intelligent thing to do. It cost very little then. And so we have

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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that and we let the university have it for visitors when we're not there. So, it's a good deal.

G: When is your next trip to Israel?

S: We've been going January, February and part of March to avoid the snow. So now we go every year.

G: Apropos of that, how have you influenced your kids?

I am making a grand sweep before the interview closes down, asking these broad, philosophical questions, stuffing more hodge into the podge! Shulman, like the other *Homo narrans* I interviewed will not be cut short, the interview continues.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: Well, the kids are very interested in what I do, in the first place. Especially since I got on brain stuff. <u>But, before that, I'd say I was much more concerned with my work. I didn't pay enough attention to the kids. It doesn't mean I didn't interact with them, but I could have done better.</u> Particularly when they were very little, I spent a lot of time with them. I made up all kinds of stories with family animals and things like that. People kept insisting I should write down or talk into the tape so they could use them if, God willing, that some of them had children of their own. But I had whole menagerie of animals and experiences, but I could have done more.</p> <p>G: Did you ever take them to Europe when you there?</p>	<p>He's very modest about his role in childrearing, obviously very proud of them, but, like all parents, I assume, feels he could have done more.</p>	<p>COMMENT-ARY</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Oh, sure, always, yeah, they've been around a great deal. They've all spent two full years in Israel on sabbaticals. Let's see, the girls were first in Geneva. When two went to school through Oberlin, won prizes at the ____ at the end of the year. These are English speaking kids who did better, the Swiss are so constrained intellectually constipated. So there, Becky was what, three I think. She was the only kid in the whole area, who won a prize and a promotion. So, they've had a lot.

G: What about your—you had brothers and sisters?

S: I have a brother and two sisters.

G: Did they go to college, too?

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: The oldest one didn't. My father said she wasn't good enough to go to college. Today she would be a medium good student, by his standards, the standards then, at that time, only about 5% of people were college material, when I went. And if you tripled it, maybe that would be the right number now. We have ten times that many, so most of the people in college don't belong here. But it's a different society. So, she didn't go, my brother went to accounting school here in Boston.

G: Which one?

S: Bentley's (sic).

G: Oh, yeah.

S: There's now a college [in Waltham] here, that was when it was in downtown Boston, he simply wasn't serious enough to go to college. And then... the younger of the sisters and myself both went-she went to BU and studied math.

G: Is this the one who lived in Ohio?

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Yeah. She also did me a great favor. She took gym at BU and they had them learn a sport. So, she learned tennis, she was sixteen when she went away, so I was ten. She came back to show me how to play tennis and she did something that was so wonderful She saved enough money so that in a month or two, she had the two dollars to buy me a tennis racket. And that was my first tennis racket and it has colored my whole life.

G: How so?

There are advantages of a grand sweep, you do end up with some nuggets before you shut off the tape recorder. This man is a tennis fanatic, he alluded to the equipment. a lot, but until now, I didn't get the lore:

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: I've been playing ever since. You meet an enormous number of people. It's a social way to get involved with other people. It's extraordinary. Those of us who play a lot, admit to each other, if not for tennis, I wouldn't have met this person, gotten this.... It's really—well at Woods Hole we're two kinds of fanatics. You either sail or you play tennis. Very few people do both. And so, I have these people I've been playing tennis with for twenty-five years , thirty years. I'm the kid of the group. (laughs) One of them is 78, one's 74, Jay is 70 and I'm 69. But then there are a few younger ones in their middle sixties are creeping up. But this is a friendship that you can't match.

G: ... are your children as interested in tennis as you are?

COMMENT-
ARY

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: In fact, all three of the girls play. My son was a stupid kid, he sails. But he admitted this year that he's been—he took two of the tennis rackets, we have so many around the house, and he's been hitting the tennis ball quite a bit this year. I can't imagine how he got infected with that sailing business. He's a very competitive kid.</p> <p>G: Out of curiosity, you grew up in Portland, Maine, you came down here, so water must be important some how.</p>	<p>The above story was told very tongue-in-cheek, obviously his son is quite smart, picking a sport his father doesn't do, so that he won't have to compete with him.</p>	<p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: <u>Sure. I don't feel comfortable unless there's an ocean nearby.</u> In some ways—well, I took over the tennis club about twenty years, ago became president, I built two tennis courts right on the beach. As somebody said, "It was nice of you to arrange to put an ocean near your tennis courts." (both laugh) Well, you know, you play, the backdrop is the water. It's right there, it's twenty feet away at high tide. So you finish playing tennis and you run into the ocean. That was a brilliant thing to do. I was looking to see if any of those pictures show it, I guess they don't. (looks around his office at various framed photographs)</p> <p>G: Are you still in contact with any of your student, that have gone on, and are teachers?</p> <p>S: Some, yeah, the closest student I ever had, died. And-his father had died of a heart-attack when he was in his forties, and Arthur did, too. I have my technician... she's great, she was a student technician....</p>	<p>More narrative and commentary here, and I'm glad that I probed some more. This love of the ocean is something I shared with Shulman and Karen Bloch (talked about in Chapter One.)</p>	<p>STORY/COMMENTARY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p> <p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: Have you been able to help your students get jobs after they graduate?</p> <p>S: Yeah. Well.... I got one a job at the university of Massachusetts at Amherst, now he's a full professor. And have to catch him and see if he wants to go to lunch, he's on Sabbatical for 6 months.</p> <p>G: Any of your student here at Brandeis now?</p> <p>S: No.</p> <p>G: Do you still go to conferences now?</p>		<p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: You know the brain conferences, they're kind of in a sense, dull because they almost all have neuron reductionist point of view, so you have to pick the things to go to and also, the learning and educational ramifications of this brain stuff have proven to be—

I interrupt this section because Shulman is not sour grapes here, he is a scientist and a learned man and this is his assessment., which he is careful to say a few sentences down. As I re-read this I am again amazed how good of a raconteur he is of his life and its context, as he almost always adds commentary to the jumble. I must also add that Shulman is not alone, the very nature of life review guarantees this kind of moving in and out of reflexivity of the informant, and is why folklorists ought to allow their texts to speak for themselves.

COMMENT-ARY

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Side 2 tape 2

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: But on the whole, they're less brilliant than the people in the sciences that I know. That doesn't make them any less interesting. But this dyslexia thing is, is an enormous problem, but then it's something else, it turns out that a commission, a national commission made a recommendation—this is my interpretation. They tried to break the backs of the schools of education, by giving a way of being certified to teach, without going to a school of education. And I went to a fund raiser for Evelyn Murphy, was I telling you about this? I was telling somebody. Oh, I know, about two or three weeks ago, she was down at Woods Hole, so we paid a hundred dollars to have lunch with her. And she says to us, she wants to be the education governor. So I went up to afterwards and I said, "If you're really serious, I can help you, I have enormous experience and absolutely stunning new approaches to training of teachers." And she took my identification tag and she stuck in the inside of her coat, and put me in touch with the woman

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who's on the state board of education, who then put me in touch with a woman named Susan Zellman, whom I met yesterday morning. And her job is to implement. this whole program in Massachusetts. So after talking with her awhile, her husband's a Brandeis graduate, we agreed that I could help her in three different ways and so we're setting that up. So, that—these educational ramifications take up a whole lot of my time.

G: Are you happy to be a part of that, then?

S: Yeah, you see schools of education are really *drek!*⁸ That doesn't mean there aren't some very good people in them. But by and large, they are *drek!* And after I've talked to a few of them for awhile, I said I'm not going back to those people anymore. I feel like I'm throwing pearls at pigs. And so I stopped that and I did other works outside my own for a long time. But I stopped that, too after awhile. I just didn't like the people I was dealing with. But now, an opportunity to help Massachusetts do something really fundamental, I'm willing to go back in. You see the

This narrative contained another embedded folklore prize, the proverb in context ("Throwing pearls at pigs," my folklore antennae went wild!). The whole proverb is "Do not throw pearls to swine" and is used allusively as Shulman does, he's been in academe for over fifty years and wants to tell these people off, but can not or will not. He discovered that the world is uninterested that he made a lasting discovery. This whole passage in fact was his validictory to a life.

MEMORY
TRIGGER/
SPECIAL
CODE/PROV-
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MENT.ARY/
SPECIAL
CODE:
YIDDISH

Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>brain develops stages that have keys to great deal of human development., and in a way, I resent the fact that I'm not a good enough PR guy to really make it, because I have more to say than Carl Sagan has, take someone whom I like to listen to, or even Steven Gould. But I don't know to say it in a way that catches attention. But I still feel responsible for trying to help.</p> <p>G: There must be at least a small core that is very supportive.</p> <p>S: Oh, yeah. Without them, I couldn't continue (laughs)</p> <p>G: What else, you play tennis, any other activities you do that you have more time for?</p>	<p>Interestingly enough, this as well as reinforced my entry in to this folkgroup, my close friend and colleague, Harriet M. Phinney, an anthropologist have been planning and plotting the school we want to open someday. We usually get into this routine at the end of the semester or after a particularly painful episode within the academy. Although, Shulman specifically targeted the school of education, Phinney and I think the whole system needs reform. Anyway, his interest and activism here pleased and interestsed me.</p>	<p>is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.</p> <p>Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.</p> <p>ANSWER</p> <p>Information given with little or no embellishment.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: I don't have any more time. I just don't teach, which means I'm in the lab more. Most of us scientists are the same way. We have an activity. Could be tennis, could be something else. Almost all of us love music, and as you can see, I have dozens of cassettes, all classical music which I usually play here and in the car when I go home and stuff. I wish I could play better but I don't.

G: What do you play?

S: I tried the mandolin, I tried the harmonica, I'm no good at all. And of course I read a lot. Since we're sports people, we spend all too much time watching sports on television, but then one of my closest friends down there, Ezra Laderman, who's one of the most distinguished American composers. He's just become dean of the school of music at Yale.

G: What's his name?

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

MEMORY TRIGGER

Certain moments come to mind first, reminds him of another year, another moment; coherence at first glance seems lost, but once the whole nesting is heard/read, the commentary and life history have a more textured meaning.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Ezra Laderman. We spend a lot of time—we play tennis together,...we watch TV, sports together. this guy is a really a very very distinguished composer. The State of Israel commissioned him to write something for the fortieth anniversary. That kind of thing. When the marine biological lab had its hundredth anniversary last year, they commissioned him to write a piece which is called the "MBL Suite," which he wrote for his friend Rampal, who came to play it. So they had Rampal who was playing this thing with Ezra. Really a very distinguished guy, but we really are sports fanatics. I wish I didn't spend so much time at it. But really, with the lab, you can work in your own head, when you are sitting at a party, it's easy. I just think of new experiment.s, try to evaluate them, so it's really a pleasant kind of life. You can work it no matter where you are.

MEMORY TRIGGER

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Starting a couple of years ago, hey, a guy came to me and said you know you can do something that really needs doing, that hasn't been done at all. And I said, what's that, He said looking through neuro-anatomical consequences of taking cocaine. After I found out that my initial impression was wrong, there must be a thousand papers. There are none. Zero. People were worried about the sociological calm, psychological and detailed biochemistry, but nobody's looking at neuro-anatomy of cocaine. So, we've been doing that, for a couple of years on the side, too. And a couple of weeks ago, one of my old, not a friend, but a guy I know very well, a microbiologist, used to be at Tufts, now Arizona, came to Woods Hole, wanted to talk to me. He said, you know, all this stuff you're doing with cocaine, how would you like to do it with lead? It's a big social problem with lead and they don't know these things. How can you say no. I said but I don't have any more hands. He said I will try and get enough funds to hire you a lab and a full time technician, we'll do this. If he does, we'll do this.

G: ... (unintelligible)

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: There are sorts of obligations you get out of it. What can I do? I'm an old man. My tennis is slightly deteriorating. If I can do those things for society why not? It doesn't prevent my doing the work I was going to do anyhow. So, we'll do it.

G: When you look back on your life on what you've done, do you seem at all surprised?

Shulman's dedication to science and society was admirable, as was his sense of humor which prevented him from being holier than thou. We were slowly tying up loose ends here.

ANSWER/
COMMENT-
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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, I'm a naive person. I didn't imagine there would be any troubles with anything. And, troubles bothered me. I was unprepared for them. really, I do not read people well. Although I know intellectually, you would turn out to be what I think you are, you're a very nice person. I would not at all be surprised if you turn out to be not a nice person, because I read people so poorly. And that's gotten me into a certain amount of trouble. One of the very first discoveries I ever made in science, I showed it to a friend of mine, thought he was a friend, he stole it. He published it. Outraged! And he just propelled himself into the top ranks of people working in the field. And I would never dream of doing something like that. I would never dream that anybody would do that.

G: Did this happen a lot?

An interesting meta-commentary on his life here. He has done remarkable work in his life, met many interesting people. What irked him though, was the cheating and troubles, the lack of respect he seems to have gotten in his latter years. I, too am outraged for him because I enjoyed the interview so much and could not understand why anyone would want to cheat him. I realized though, this, too is life and I, have been disappointed by colleagues and friends. and life as well.

COM-
MENTARY

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: No. But this so-called cheating in science you hear about. It's almost all in medicine. There's very little in science itself. But most people are more cautious than I am. One of the guys I collaborate with now is at McClean Hospital, in the neuroscience dept. And he's just made an astonishing new find. And so he told me about it last week. Because he knows I will *never* tell anybody. And it's very exciting. But, he feels that way about me. Fine, I feel that way about him, too. But I'm sure he won't tell other people.

G: How did you go from physics to the brain, I mean I don't know enough about sciences—

S: I told you how I got into the brain.

G: Yeah, I know.

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: How I got into biophysics? We took a trip after I got my Ph.D. Went out to the west coast for the first time, drove. And one of the young instructors at Michigan, guy by the name of Lennox, had gotten his Ph.D. with Max Delbruck. And Max Delbruck was a very brilliant German theoretical physicist who became interested in biology. And he's a very pushy guy and he organized everything—a good man, a very good man. ... an anti-Nazi and all that, you don't have to worry about that. And he came to this country before that stuff. And Lennox got into it in his quantitative work like that. And so he said, "Why don't you stop in and see and say hello?" I stopped in to see Max and we're—I was in there, my wife was sitting out in the car. And in three hours, we had a terrific debate on the nature of life and its relationship to physics and all that. And at the time, he said to me. "He says I want you to show up at this place on such and such a date and with a usual way. He went down to the basement. at Cal Tech, where he was a visiting professor. And some guys were

MEMORY TRIGGER

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working on something. He listened to them and said that's not the way to do it. That's what he always said, you can do it in a better way. So, he eventually got involved with them. And this is the beginning of the work done by bacterial viruses, viruses that affect bacteria. Famous Ellis-Delbruck Paper was the beginning of hundred and fifty dollars. And be prepared to stay for three weeks. I didn't, you couldn't stay no to Max. I didn't know him well, it was the first time I had ever met him. I discovered I had been enrolled in a bacterial virus course at Cold Spring Harbour in Long Island, New York. It was so thrilling, because who was there? Leo Szilard was there, and this and that, a lot of giant physicists and Szilard's the guy who set up the atom bomb. He's the one who told Fermi, yeah. He wrote the letter to Roosevelt. So, Leo was there, and it was so exciting, that when I went back to Pitt where I was working at that fall, I started doing some experiments with these bacterial viruses and it was so seductive, that I just kept

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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going. Never went back to physics. But Delbruck later got the Nobel Prize. He deserved it, too.

G: Yeah.

My yeah is recognition of Shulman's incredible circle of friends and colleagues. Shulman has just mentioned some of the top scientists of his time, Nobel Prize winners, much like his refried beans dinners with Pierre Emmanuel. I am impressed, jealous, anxious for some of my own brushes with the famous and then Shulman continues on and unwittingly makes me realize that I need to be patient:

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Scientists by nature tend to be gregarious, because they work with things all day that they really want to socialize with people. Because people, uh professionals, they want to be alone and there is an obvious difference. They're much more gregarious than all the people in the social sciences and humanities. Scientists, they want to share.

G: Yeah. Do you have a, any kind of monthly gathering with your scientist friends, where you know, you talk about things, or have discussion group or anything like that?

Another commentary here and I am reminded of Shulman's narrative about the cooperative movement. and his joy at being able to share knowledge with his peers while still an undergraduate. His perspectives on sharing have always been there and this is perhaps why cheating and stolen ideas are so abhorrent to him.

I asked this because at the time, I had a dissertation support group going with fellow graduate students in folklore, ethnomusicology and English--it was a wonderful group where we would talk about our ideas which fed on more ideas--sharing perspectives and ideology. I, too am curious and gregarious and since dissertation work is so lonesome, I craved company as did my friends. Shulman's description of his colleagues reminded me of my friends.

COM-
MENTARY

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: Well, I start lots of things. I've started the Woods Hole Science Colloquium. There are four major institutions in Woods Hole. Marine Biological Laboratory, Oceanographic, these are the people who found the Titanic, the Geological Survey and the Fisheries, so last spring I started a ... institution Science colloquium which met every Tuesday, I suppose. And, you know, it's long overdue. Everybody said, gee, why didn't we do this before? So now we do that? Every Monday one of my childhood friends from Portland, who summers at the Cape, he and I have lunch together. Well, several other people have, all I can think of is the Hebrew word, *nitztareh bah* oh, associated themselves with us. And so we go, and we sit and we talk for a couple hours. It's more like a support group that you find with women than most other things. So, we're always getting together to talk with, we sit and talk before we play tennis. After we play, after tennis, we go to somebody's house, have a beer, and sit and talk. Because you have to

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replenish all the fluids anyhow. So, its' really an intellectually satisfying way of living.

G: Do you think you would ever, do you ever think of doing anything else?

S: Why should I think of anything else (laughs). It's such a wonderful thing. My son, when he finished Michigan as an undergraduate, he worked at the Cape, at Woods Hole. He lived at the house for two years as a carpenter. And realized the kind of life that I lead as an academic is so satisfying, he decided to back to graduate school and get a Ph.D. and end up in the academic world. If he's lucky, he'll get back to Woods Hole. Because he's there every summer anyhow. Because he can work as a carpenter for eighteen to twenty dollars an hour, and also he sails and races twice a week. So, who could want a better life? I've been all around the world, I.... (unintelligible). I tell you grass is green every place that I've lived.

G: Yes, that's true. Something you just said reminded me, I was, Rosa de Leon is also a part of this.

A lovely ending to a lovely interview. But we're not quite done, like the end of good party, good-byes take hours!

COMMENT-
ARY

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S: Yes, she's a doll.

ANSWER

Information given with little or no embellishment.

G: Yeah, she says hello to you also, and she has trouble saying no. She sometimes she finds herself doing much more work... it's not really her own, it's just that people ask to do that. But you say that your research can continue on, even with all these side projects.

S: Yeah, yes, (agrees). Well, that's what I do myself. Students do the cocaine, this technician, God willing will do the lead, OK, fine. In Israel I have a collaboration with the vet there—

STORY

Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.

G: The what?

N.B. I had heard him the first time, I just couldn't believe how much this man knew about so many different things.

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: With the veterinarian. He likes research but he doesn't do it. So, I come there, it galvanizes him, so he works with me, as long as I'm there with him personally. So, we have projects going.

G: That's great. Anything else you want to add?

S: No.

G: (Laughs)

S: You want to go have lunch with us?

COMMENT-
ARY

Reflexivity in narrative occurs when Shulman separates himself from the protagonist of the narrative for a moment; thus permitting Shulman to observe, reflect and correct the self that is being created.

ANSWER

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TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>G: (hesitates) I um...</p> <p>S: You can say no.</p> <p>G: I have to pick up my mother at work.</p> <p>S: OK, you look like her in a way, I was staring at you the whole time.</p> <p>G: There's a strong family resemblance on both sides, I think.</p> <p>S: But Harris, you tell him this (Points to the recliner) is still here.</p> <p>G: I will.</p>	<p>Oh, I really wanted to go to lunch and meet his colleagues, but reality hit. I had taken my mother's car to conduct to get to Brandeis and she needed to be picked up at work.</p> <p>This comment. pleased me then and now. Then, it did because my appearance and initial contact with Shulman was negotiated through family contacts, looking like my mother reinforced this tie (As well, I think my mother is /was quite beautiful and really take it as a compliment.). Now, it means so much more, as my mother has since died and I grab at what I can to keep her with me.</p>	<p>CLOSING REMARKS ON BOTH SIDES</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
<p>S: And he was surprised when we came in and bought a second one.</p> <p>G: He was just seventy last month and we gave him a party at the shul, we gave him an <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>⁹ and people came from all over.</p> <p>S: Oh yeah, that's nice. So, give him my <i>Mazel Tov</i>,¹⁰ too.</p> <p>G: Yeah I will.</p> <p>S: We just staged, last Saturday, a surprise sixtieth birthday party for my wife and total surprise. Forty people came to the house of a friend, and my kids had slaved all week cooking and my God. She said, Oh they're having an open house, let's go. I said, "OK, let's go." We walked over there and there's forty people, close friends stand up, singing to her. I'd never seen such a happy person. It was really—nobody blew it.</p> <p>G: It was a surprise for him, too, and my mother, because we didn't want her to worry.</p> <p>S: Why would she worry?</p> <p>S: Well, she always worries about invitations, and all that, the best present would be a surprise.</p>		<p>SPECIAL CODE-Hebrew</p> <p>SPECIAL CODE-Yiddish and Hebrew</p> <p>STORY</p> <p>Narrative units continue to build coherence for Shulman's life.</p>

TORAH	HAFTORAH	TALMUD
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S: You're right.

G: So we did tell them a few days before so they could prepare themselves (laughs). Every person that walked in, they were amazed that we had gotten in contact with. It was really nice.

S: Good for you!

One last volley-- we match each other's stories almost perfectly here and we are done.

G: Well, thank you.

S: You got what you wanted?

CLOSING

G: So far. I'll tell you—

We could have gone on for hours, maybe days, sharing family lore. Did I get what I wanted, "so far" is as good an estimation as any.

Shulman's set of circumstances, his ability to tell a good story and his own sense of what was important for me to know to understand his experiences all influence his life story and work beautifully to demonstrate this life's hodgepodge. In reading the above, we have a well defined sense of structure, form, depth, texture and hodgepodge: These life histories do not live until you listen to the professors tell their lives to you, and we cannot make it work any other way. Since the beginning of the discipline, there had been an undercurrent of belief that the Grimms wrote better stories and Lonnrot created an epic where there was none. Life histories traditionally have been extracted from their interactional settings and thus have appeared as a hodgepodge of narratives; like personal narratives, life histories only live in the telling (Allen 1989: 237) That is what is wrong with framing life histories and why you must listen as you read the above.

Folklorists have always been as interested in the ways in which lives are lived, not solely investigating the ballad text. We need to move to the singing and the telling of ballads and back to the lives and their hodgepodge of stories that are recovered during the interview process. Throughout this study, I witnessed the many instances of inspiration which became real after being told. By having you the reader see what I see and hear from being there, I used analysis to talk about what Shulman's narratives might mean. This does not guarantee a higher truth in my fieldwork, but in re-working the data like this, the transcript takes on a greater form of sophistication, and you can see how I operate and how the shape of this dissertation came to be. Constructing a table and analysing the transcript contribute low level rules of performance that make my understanding of the interview more

comprehensible as well as offering the reader a view into this most private sphere of folklore fieldwork. Several key elements may be seen to be at work here. I offer my commentary on the transcript and the interaction between Shulman and myself as well as identifying communicative devices used by Shulman throughout the interview: answer, special code, memory trigger and commentary. The strongest device seems to me to be that of the memory trigger; by highlighting this aspect of the interview, one can witness how memory is made, how an answer triggers stories as Shulman searches for the answers to my questions. Coherence goes beyond the answer as the memory trigger shows how memory happens. In reading the text in conjunction with my commentary and analysis, one can see the importance of immediate conversational context to the telling of life histories; like personal narratives life histories do not occur in an interactional vacuum (Barbara Allenp. 236), they are responses to my questioning. The subjective ethnographer is in vogue and a call for field notes has been put in, but there is still a gap between what has been written and how the ideas came about.

I appreciate Lawless' problems with presenting the life history unedited. In her latest article, ". . . Negotiating Interpretive Differences," she talks about the tension between her viewpoint and those of her informant. Perhaps less tension and more understanding would be reached if we were more honest in the field as I was in allowing you to see my viewpoint throughout the course of the interview. I was not comfortable with this, but I feel it was necessary in order for you to see how I view the chaos and randomness of hodgepodge and attempt to order the disorder. A life history will be a hodgepodge because it lacks a proper Proppian structure. Life is not well formed but it does follow rules, it doesn't follow rules perfectly, but follows them enough. As Shulman says: "Like most people,

most of what happened, happened accidentally." There exists, then an essential spontaneity which lies in the human part of human experience and is produced by our delicate balance or search for just enough. The greatest joy is that we don't know when/what is enough.

I haven't done enough fieldwork to be sure, but I think different rules apply for different cultures and individuals, but there are particular rules on a proto-level in my particular experience that are useful and important in Jewish culture regarding the maintenance of Jewish conversation. Other cultures and people focus on different things (e.g., the jokes, advice, stories I discovered here in another culture might not be as elaborate or be more elaborate, tangents may be created differently, etc.) There will be hodgepodge, but the organization will be different. Ultimately, we can discover how we structure important things and other lives. My intent in this chapter was to demonstrate how life histories in themselves are excellent examples of narrative performances and how they may be used to understand and feel the circumstances of shared history of both public and private memory. In using both folklore and emic categories in conjunction with those of discourse analysis, the performance of life histories demonstrate how a life is made coherent.

Endnotes

- 1 Yiddish, non-Jews
- 2 Yiddish, grandmother
- 3 Yiddish, big-shot
- 4 Yiddish, sacred songs (Hebrew, zmirot)
- 5 Yiddish, Hebrew, good deed
- 6 Hebrew, Sabbath Eve
- 7 Yiddish, arranged marriage
- 8 Yiddish, shit
- 9 Hebrew, literally, Sabbath Greeting, a collation after Friday evening services
- 10 Hebrew, Good luck, congratulations

Chapter Three

Coming of Age in America

When, asked Ignazio Silone one summer evening in Rome, did you first become a Socialist? We were having the usual difficulties in starting a conversation, though we knew we shared many ideas and some experiences. I had become a Socialist, I told him, at the advanced age of fourteen. "You too"- he started laughing- "it was the same with you!" He in the Abruzzi and I in the Bronx, some thread of shared desire had linked our youth. And what, he started to ask, had made me turn to a politic not exactly popular in the United States- but he caught himself, as if the answer were self-evident.

For him it was. Others may wonder, and that has prompted me also to wonder. I find it hard to give assured answers, though perhaps that is no reason for chagrin, since about the most important things in our lives we seem fated to remain uncertain, torn between the rival claims of will and circumstance. Let me start with circumstance. (Howe 1982: 1)

Though he, too taught at Brandeis [most every intellectual Jew of his era did, I never interviewed Irving Howe. Yet, when I read his autobiography, I felt as if I had. Much of what he writes echoes what many of the Brandeis professors I spoke with told me. Like him, the Depression, Anti-Semitism, communism, socialism and World War II colored their lives and worlds. Unlike him, they never told their stories--until now. Through the various narratives highlighted in this chapter, I will show how these individuals' life experiences make sense of an age. In trying to understand the professors' life experiences, indeed in picking them as a group to study, I have tried to illuminate these shared patterns of circumstances. It was these patterns which convinced me to write about them. They, like Irving Howe and Ignazio Silone, willed themselves to careers, to important positions, and

to influence only for me to discover the similar circumstances of their progress from the ghettos of New York and Boston to the Jewish American city on a hill.

Likewise, I will not make too much of circumstance, though for reasons different than Howe's. I am leery of trusting circumstance because it gives history too much authority. "One of the more compelling myths about American history is its susceptibility to categorization by decades. Especially in the twentieth century, when successive crises seem to produce a generation every ten years, Americans are peculiarly addicted to the notion that monumental changes occur with the taking of the census" (Pells 1973:1). We tend to compartmentalize and label things with beginning and ending years. We think of the Progressive era as having ended in 1919, the 1920s as a prosperous decade until the crash in 1929; the Depression coloring the next ten years and so on, with each successive decade being defined by some political or cultural event (Pells 1973). This conceptualization of the past is not incorrect, but it tends to trivialize the experiences of those whose lives and histories do not correspond to the preciseness of events. It tends to dismiss out of hand those informal histories which arise in family discussions, or at coffee klatches, or even over drinks. The unfortunate result of such dismissals is that the human perspective and texture of time is lost.

Listen for a moment to Samuel Katz's recollections:

...My father had a store on Harrison Avenue [Boston]... a kitchenware store: pots and pans, washtubs... a little hardware, dishes...It was a very good business because the United States was built on waves of immigration and though Boston wasn't a great port, it was significant, and immigrants would come in and they'd set up home. He would sell them furnishings for their kitchens. The stuff was imported from Japan, China, Germany, Bavaria. And it was a very small store, but it was a very active

business. He, himself had immigrated from Jerusalem in the 1890s.

In 1924, which was a very interesting year, (not that I remember it that well), . . . World War I introduced a kind of xenophobia into this country, and an immigration law was passed about 1924, setting up quotas. And that stopped effectively, the kind of immigration that would come to the South End of Boston. People don't appreciate perhaps, that before World War I, there were no passports anywhere. The passport, historically, was something that a king gave a nobleman to introduce him to the king of another country, so that he would not be clobbered as he crossed the border, but be welcomed you see. Then, with the refugee problems raised by the destructions of WWI. . . international papers were issued to allow people to travel. . . . And then passports and visas became restrictive devices. First they were issued to enable people to move, then they became restrictive devices. And so immigration was restricted in 1924. That's also the year Woodrow Wilson died, Lenin died.

There is a balance between will, circumstance, personal history and world history here. As you read Sam Katz's narrative, there is a cadence there which reflects a confrontation with ordinary people, who are in history as opposed to witnessing it. Most people do not regard 1924 as a pivotal year. Those that record history did not give it any special status. Yet, those who were there, such as Katz, have whole sets of memories and reasons to recall 1924 and have many such years embedded in their personal and emotional logic, which when prompted, conflicts with a chronological logic. This history is not caused, it happens: "...immigration was restricted in 1924, that's also the year Woodrow Wilson died, Lenin died." Katz lists these events like a death tome--and throughout all this, Katz's father's business started to fail, which served as the antagonist for the whole narrative. Oral history is not a truer history, not history from another side but rather a recognition that there are only histories which begin without priority. Again the voice here constructs many histories in this short excerpt. The order of information would bother

a historian terribly. To end with Wilson and Lenin dead and no more seems to violate all the rules of history but perfectly points out how we do our histories for each other and initiates what will be recorded here. There are three endings here and it is their juxtaposition that points to what oral history does.

A retired professor at this time, really has lived through a period of change, not only in society, but particularly in higher education, which one ordinarily doesn't recognize because there is a tendency to think that what we are experiencing now is what was and what will be and that static view is common and it just isn't so.

Katz reiterates the notion of oral history and folklore; they do not reflect the conventions of history, but are ever so useful in making sense of history. By juxtaposing the unacceptable act of memory with history one can see how it violates history. In the next excerpt read how Richard Bergman describes his life in the tenements of New York around the years 1923-24:

. . . The nightly glass of tea around the kitchen table, which always involved other people dropping in. . . My brother and I slept in the dining room on a day bed adjoining the kitchen and I would go to bed and these people would be inside talking all the time. Now what were they talking about? Conditions, conditions ought to be changed, the weaknesses of the system and the strengths of the system. . . They were critical of what they thought to be injustices in the social and political arrangements of our time. . . They were socialist critics.

In bringing the context of these times to the forefront, the more conventional history begins to make sense as the individuals' circumstances are unpacked, displayed, and juxtaposed as text alongside one another.

Throughout the 1920s, the liberals had forecast imminent economic disaster. In fact, these warnings came so regularly that no one, including the liberals themselves, actually believed IT would happen; "It was if the liberals

had cried wolf too often without really believing in its existence; when the beast finally appeared, they were looking the other way." (Pells 1973: 44)

I was nine when the Depression technically started, 1929. It was a very significant thing in my life, because I discovered how poor we wereThat changed my whole life, because... I understood numbers very well. One afternoon I discovered how much money he (his father) had made that day—which was like ten cents. He had a grocery store and I discovered that if you lifted the top of the cash register, you could find all the details of what was going on. So I said to myself, "Well, there's only one way I can help him—is by not wanting anything. So, I stopped asking for anything. No presents, no candy, no nothing. As a matter of fact, I've enjoyed that ever since. I've kept that ever since. I just need new tennis balls these days. But it really colored my whole life. I was acutely aware of the Depression.

—Eddie Shulman

The signs were pretty hard to ignore, as production slowed during the winter of 1930, unemployment statistics rose. Yet, the liberals maintained their calm, continuing to put their faith in Hoover's leadership and the economy's basic strength. The **New Republic** did acknowledge the existence of a "genuine industrial depression" in the United States, but was quick to add that a revival in business was sure to come by summer. In fact, the editors believed that this crisis would encourage the strength of industrial capitalism. They encouraged an alliance between the President and various progressive businesses, engineering, and management forces in order to give enlightened capitalist industrialism a chance. True to economic theory they believed that capitalism needed a free hand. The problem then is not inherent in capitalism but rather the interference of government regulation (Forcey 1961). The editors at **The New Republic** like most Americans, could not anticipate how desperate the situation would become (Pells 1973).

Relief did not appear and the economy during the spring and summer of 1930 continued to dissipate. Hoover had received voluntary agreements from major industrialists to stabilize prices and wages, but since these were only voluntary, they were unaffordable and generally powerless to prevent businessmen from cutting back production and employees in order to make any kind of profit. Slowly and inevitably, industrial America was shutting down. People only bought what they absolutely needed, surplus goods accumulated in warehouses, and factories cut back on hours and workers (Pells 1973).

And things got worse: the frailties which had become hidden in the prosperous 1920s, surfaced and added to the crisis. Ironically, wheat, corn, and cotton crops had all been bumper crops-- too much, in fact, for both the domestic and foreign markets; sharecroppers and tenant farmers, whose claim on the land had always been insubstantial, experienced severe rural poverty. Miners were out of work, as were textile workers, steel hands, and assembly workers. No new items like cars or radios appeared on the market to boost the economy and credit was no longer available to buy these luxuries (Pells 1973).

Ok, my parents, were... European, well, Greek immigrants. They were immigrants from Greece. My mother had studied English, however, in Turkey, in a missionary school. And so she spoke, [English] and my father had picked it up here. They knew each other from... both families were from Greece, they had immigrated to Turkey and my father came first, my mother's brothers came, then later my mother came. They knew each other from over there and they were married over there. And when I was born, I'm not too sure just exactly what my father was—whether that was when he was working in Metropolitan Life or whether—he still had . . . a restaurant at one point. He did many things over the years. . . I was about six when they bought a farm over in New Jersey, just before the Crash. In the Crash they lost everything. They came back to the City and he worked at home. My mother knew how to sew and so she

taught him and he made neckties. You know, immigrants . . . did all kinds of things. . . . They both had probably a little more education than most of their class. My father came from a well-to-do family, that . . . could afford to have him tutored to become a rabbi. He had a tutor, but he had a lot of money and he used to take his tutor to the cafe (I love it) and study. He knew his Bible very well, but he rebelled against all that. And my mother, because she stayed there until she was 16, she had started high school, which was really unusual. . . . She, I think had one brother [who] had gotten that far in school. They all went to school, they learned to read and write, but you know, no higher education.

—Rosa De Leon

The Jews were not the only ones who experienced the economic difficulties described by De Leon; the Depression was viewed as the great equalizer and being poor was something most people experienced. However, a difficulty that was nurtured by the Depression and always experienced by the Jews wherever they lived, was anti-Semitism. Goldstein recounts one of his earliest memories.

One of the strongest [influences] was growing up in a sort of hostile community. Strongly anti-Semitic in the area [Long Island]. It was all cornfields and mostly white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants, in fact few Catholics and still fewer black people . . . were distinct minorities and I was a minority of one, stemming from the first day I went to school and somebody socked me on the nose and called me "dirty Jew" or something of that sort. Through . . . the end of high school, that was one of the strongest influences. So you see, it was . . . an inhospitable environment.

And one of the [other] influences was a kind of liberal left point of view . . . one of my uncles . . . who was also an immigrant—I never saw him without a German socialist paper hanging out of his pocket. And always was preaching to me about socialism. And so I was exposed to that, too. Other influences as a kid—did a fair amount of reading. Obviously there was a high value placed on education . . . intellectual things and verbal abilities, that's the usual picture.

—Lorne Goldstein

The "usual picture" stemmed from the immigration process, as eastern European Jews were dispersed throughout the country, educated in American ways, and integrated into modern society. Immigration was a disruptive experience for many who came to America, but the eastern European Jews experienced a particular brand of change as they came to the United States in the three decades before World War I. Physical, cultural and economic changes layered upon each other as Jews attempted to restructure their community life. For most of these immigrants, who had not yet experienced a cultural renaissance, ". . . the voyage from Russia to America was a thirty-day leap from a ghetto medieval age into a twentieth century mercantile jungle." (Dimont 1978: 164) These Jews were to undergo, in many ways, their own version of the Industrial Revolution.

The Jews pursued the various opportunities opened to them at this time and they experienced a rapid success as compared to other immigrant groups. They were absorbed into New York's sweatshops, family owned stores in Boston, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Chicago and other cities across the country. They became tailors, cigar makers and peddlers who worked hard, saved their pennies and sent their children to school to better themselves. Jews had never been peasants and lacked a "peasant's fatalism and a peasant's habit of deference to superiors" (Dimont 1978: 164) which might have "curbed their desires and slowed their assimilative mobility." (Dimont 1978: 164) Nowhere was this more evident than in the Jews' attitude towards education. Unlike the majority of the other immigrants, the Jews were literate when they came here. America's system of free education encouraged learning among the Jews (Dimont 1978). Encouraged and given the opportunity then, they passionately embraced this right and to school they went, as Katz recounts:

But that is a very interesting experience. Now, you walk to the street car every morning. Take the street car in . . . sixth grade, seventh grade, twelve years old. Take the streetcar in with people who are working and so forth. Like work, you go to the Latin School. You get to the Latin school, it's on the avenue, it's past . . . it's a beautiful little street. There are only a couple of buildings on the street. Across the street from the Latin School is the high school at Commerce. At the head of the street is the Harvard Medical School quadrangle. At the foot of the street is Simmons College at the Fenway. . . . You are brought together with the brightest students in the whole city of Boston.

. . . And you walk in the front door, there is a statue of Alma Mater there with the names of the students who died in the Civil War, WWI, the Spanish-American War. You go into the assembly hall and there is a pediment around assembly hall. On the pediment there are such marvelous names of the graduates, such as Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, John Adams, and so forth. . . . You learn (you have a catalogue) it was founded in 1630 and in 1636. Since it was a six year school, they needed someplace to send the graduates. So in order to have someplace to send the graduates, they founded Harvard College. That's the purpose of Harvard College, is to take care of Latin School graduates (from their point of view).

And you are steeped in the history of Boston. And Boston is where the Revolution started and you question authority. Nevertheless, there is authority at the Latin School. And if you misbehave, you get a misdemeanor mark. And if you don't behave properly. You go to the Latin School with a necktie. You dress properly and you address the master, the teachers are not teachers, they are masters. You address them as "sir." You really toe the line, which of course, increases your hostility to authority. So, you have your own life with the students, because there's nothing like having that hierarchical structure to build up a real sense of identity or community among the children because it's us against them.

Nevertheless, these are teachers, some of whom are just wonderful. . . . And there are role models. There's an interesting book, . . . I forgot the man's name, describing that period of the Latin School . . . He's a WASP who writes the book and describes living in the part (by that time we were living in a very nice one family house again, back on Ismont Street, near Franklin Park, which again, you couldn't visit now (a lovely home.), and he describes living further up, near Morton Street,

looking down on Blue Hill Avenue. I forget the details, but he's a WASP and he's at Latin School and he finds it full of these aggressive Jews. But from my point of view, as Jews there, we were only one third. You see it was one third Jewish, two thirds Irish and the rest were WASPS. We had very good relations there. Really, it was a unified student body. A man named Joseph Foley was the president of my class, I was the vice president of the class.

. . . And it was really in its way , an intellectual . . . kind of place, restrictive . . .

You had this split there in the teachers, the older teachers were from the older tradition . . . they were Harvard graduates. The younger teachers were Boston College graduates, Catholic school graduates, you see. They had that transition going on, but the formality and the dignity of the place was maintained. There was no rowdiness or anything like that.

It seemed quite natural then, for these Jews to continue on for a college education. "Unlike American Catholics of the nineteenth century, who built their own elaborate educational system integrating religion into academics through the collegiate level, Jews preferred to take advantage of the high quality of education available at the surrounding public and private institutions. (Yale) President James Rowland Angell (1921-37) himself recognized that neither most Jewish students "nor their families [would]...be likely to look upon a Jewish university as satisfactorily meeting their requirements, unless it were notably more liberally endowed, staffed and equipped than other existing institutions." (Oren 1985: 39)

Actually getting into college however, was an interesting and sometimes painful procedure as recalled by Katz:

Now we're coming to 1933, as I'm graduating from the place. (Latin School) and now the Depression had been on for four years. And one applies to college. I forget where I applied to, but I was turned down, probably turned down at Tufts, possibly accepted at BC, I graduated first in my class. First in your class, you get the Franklin medal, you see, the whole thing was tied

into the history of Boston, they still give out the Franklin medal. And of course I was accepted at Harvard.

A hundred of us went to Harvard from that class of three hundred. . . at that time there was still pressure on the Catholics not to go to Harvard. Pressure from their own churches to go to the Catholic schools, Boston College, Holy Cross. So that Joe Foley went to Holy Cross and didn't get to Harvard until he went to medical school. Of course I went to Harvard . . . continuing a social relationship in that Harvard makes a big things of reunions, so whenever I go to a Harvard reunion, it's a Latin School reunion. We go way back. We are old men now, who started out together in the sixth grade. . . . Harvard is a very different place now.

G: How so?

K: How so? Well, I've just completed six years on the Board of Overseers at Harvard. And I've been a member on the Joint Committee on Appointments for the last five years, Which means I sit with the president of Harvard and review every appointment of the University. Now, Samuel Katz to be an overseer and a member of the Joint Committee on Appointments was an impossibility in 1933. Impossible, unthinkable, and so that's a measure of change.

When I told my father I was going to go to Harvard, he suggested I go see his insurance agent, Mr. Watkins. He had this little store and the stuff was insured.

I made an appointment with this Mr. Watkins. And on 112 Water Street, upstairs, oak paneled office, maiden secretary outside; chubby, rotund, florid, Mr. Watkins. . . . We talk philosophy, we talk for awhile, [he] picks up the phone, makes a call, somebody at the other end answers. He says, "This is Charles Hadley Watkins, former president of the Associate Harvard Clubs of America. Have a son of a friend of mine here, we're talking and he seems a very fine young man. He's entering the College in the fall (you don't need a name). The College in the fall and I hope that you will welcome him. (Question) His name is Sam Katz. (Question) No, he's not a Communist. He's the descendent of 10 generations of rabbis.

Now, there you have a dichotomy, a picture of the noblesse oblige of the Yankees who really want bright young people to go to college and will help them. And then you have

administrators, but you always have, [those] who are concerned about background, motivations, and so forth.

G: How many other Jewish guys in the Latin school got into Harvard?

K: Yeah, they were mostly Jewish. That must have filled the quota. Well, it was the Depression and they might not have had so many applications from out of town and so forth. Even the Yankees were in trouble then.

It was very interesting to come out to Cambridge; of course I lived at home. Just continued the commute, instead of the Latin School, you went on to Harvard Square. I had seen Harvard Yard for the first time, never had seen it before [going to school there].

Once he found himself at Harvard, he quickly found the intellectual atmosphere there thrilling, and his description of this reinforces Irving Howe's circumstances:

You see this is now 1936, I was the only one of my friends who was in science. There were some that were going to go to medical school, but in science, there was only one other man [Jewish]. And everyone was in the social sciences. You know, this was the New Deal, Hitler, Communism, Stalin, Trotsky, oh my God. So, there I am every day in lunch with all my socialist science friends . . . you see, one more thing about Harvard is that you really had a bunch of really bright friends. And you learned from them. What do I mean by that? You could only take four courses and you had these poor professors and you listened to them and you read the books. . . But you had these friends and now each one of them was taking four courses and . . . you could learn a hell of a lot from them.

And one very dear close friend with whom I was in complete agreement, . . . we used to walk around, we used to talk, his name was Theodore White, Teddy White, he wrote. . . **The Making of the President**. . . we knew, and yet there was Hitler. Hitler was the prime evil. And he was screaming about the Bolsheviks so, the enemy of the enemy of your friends. But there was Stalin, bumping off all the guys who made the revolution. You know the history of Revolutions is that they eat their children. It's one thug who goes in and takes the place of another thug because how can you have a revolution without

being a thug? You have to murder and they did. And who wins at the end is the guy who climbs over the corpses to get up there.

Harvard was not the only bed of intellectual foment, as both Shulman and Goldstein describe their experiences at the University of Michigan. Shulman describes his journey out to Ann Arbor and his embracing of the atmosphere, as well as the hardships he had to endure at first:

. . . I couldn't go to college right after high school because my family was broke. So I had to stay out and work for a year to support the family, 'til my father got another job. . . . I worked on the train, selling candy, magazines, those kinds of things. This was a start for a number of us because I handed this onto a friend who took over when I finished. But I do remember that I went out to Michigan, with tuition for one semester and twenty-five dollars, and the best wishes of my family. I had to get a job, which I did, and somehow struggled through. It was not easy.

. . . The first two or three places I went looking for a room, turned me down because I was Jewish. That was a big fat surprise. Eventually I found one and it was very very nice.

. . . I also wrote for the Michigan newspaper, *The Michigan Daily* for a few years. . . . But the business with UAW and Walter Ruether, Victor Ruether and things like that was going on. . . . one of the union guys named Bill G. Had a younger brother named Henry who was in the same class as I was. We had many classes together, so through Henry I met Bill and through Bill I got to meet Victor Ruether and hear all of these things. So we were very much aware of it.

It was just a part of the ambiance of people I hung around with. On *The Michigan Daily*, there were lots of very active people. . . . there were people who became nationally very prominent and active. So there was a lot of talk around the newspaper. You stayed there until the paper went to bed. I think around 2:00 [a.m.] , you sit around talk, and you just learn like crazy. There was one fellow in particular, who was not only a sports editor, but a very bright guy. And he was a second baseman for the baseball team. He was just a very active and with-it guy. I remember his coming in the first day of exams one spring, going, "Did anybody take Sociology 202 (or whatever it was)". . . . He said he looked on his schedule, had never been to the class he was just going to read all the books in two or three nights and passed

the course. That kind of thing was going on there. Most people weren't faithful students as I was.

. . . I loved the whole thing. I couldn't be happier. Physics is the most exciting thing you could learn in the whole world, anyhow. I mean to go all the way through not understanding nature in the 1600s to the quantum physics. It's an intellectual journey that has no equal. And it's the perfect preparation for everything, whether it's science or philosophy. I could hardly wait to get home most days. I wanted to tell the guys, "Guess what, guess how nature does this or that." They used to listen patiently.

The thing that really made my life possible there was the discovery of the cooperative movement. I mean the whole second year, since the kosher restaurant which I had worked the first year had closed up during the summer, I was broke. I had no money. I ate one meal a day for a whole year. I was so hungry and I did the usual things: I found out there were departmental seminars and they served cookies and tea. I found out one for each day. I had English on Monday, I went to all of them. I also went to listen to them, because it was fascinating-- there were all these seminars. But I mainly went there to eat. I was so hungry. And at the end of the year, I found the cooperative movement and moved in and my whole life changed. . . . I eventually became the head of all the midwest federations of cooperatives-- a big *macher* . But I was so grateful-- for something like two and a half dollars a week we had room and board. And all the snacking we could want. . . . I can't tell you what it meant. I had one of the student jobs which paid forty cents an hour by working twenty hours a week. I couldn't work twenty , I worked ten hours that's right. I had four dollars so I had some spending money, that's right. I filed reprints for a member of the faculty. That was the best job I had, because that was a physics guy so I could look at these things and try to read them.

G: Did you get any scholarships?

S: Yeah, well Michigan had very few scholarships, I went back to Portland one summer and got a hold of the Portland-Michigan Society or whatever it was called and I told them they really should get together and pitch in some money to send people out with their own scholarship. And so they did. And when I got back to Ann Arbor that fall, some administration official called me in and said, 'Look, you can't go on doing this, we're the ones who go out and raise money for scholarships. He

told me not to do it anymore. They congratulated me on getting this scholarship for somebody else. By then I was in the co-op and I didn't need any money. And I got paid for being on *The Michigan Daily*. I also got a scholarship from them. Money wasn't a problem after I found the co-ops. But I was so hungry my sophomore year. I have pictures of me, all skin and bones--like I was a concentration camp victim.

G: Who were your friends?

S: I had three different groups. I had the students in sciences whom I saw in classes. I had the *Michigan Daily* people and the people I lived with, really as bright people as you'll find in the whole world. So, I had three different groups. I felt very rich. I was very much aware of it at the time, also. We had the brightest guy, I ever knew, who was killed in World War Two, lived in this co-op. You. . . just sat at his feet. I was nineteen, and he was eighteen or something like that, but he was just stunningly brilliant. And the group in the co-op there was plainly an extremely talented people.

Goldstein echoes Shulman's thoughts on the University of Michigan, as well as adding his own set of circumstances and experiences:

I wanted to see a different part of the country. I understood it was a good school, it was cheaper, very cheap--sixty bucks a semester. That's because I was an out-of-stater. And yes, it was known as a good school. I guess I. . . wasn't quite in view to apply to places like Harvard or Dartmouth or Princeton. In the first place, now, remember, it was The Depression, so that may have been partly economic and I don't think anybody from that level of town--But at that time, I don't think anybody from there had ever gone to, you know, sort of an Ivy League college. So, I went to Michigan.

G: What did you major in?

G: On my transcripts it will say economics. The real answer to that question is that I majored in *The Michigan Daily*. I was an active member of a daily newspaper, that was really a wonderful experience for many people. And, in a way, I would say, in the order of importance to me, in my undergraduate years, was *The Michigan Daily*, and writing editorials and covering news stories. It was a very exciting time. It was a student newspaper. We ran it, so that was central to my life as a student.

Second would be what I would call liberal and left student activities. This was the time when Czechoslovakia was being swallowed by Hitler, when the CIO was first organizing union workers in the Michigan plants, and there were strikes. . . . I went up to Flint and covered, as a seventeen-year-old kid. . . . It was a time of a lot of political ferment and I (I don't know if you ever heard of the organization called the American Student Union). Well, I was an active member of that and Spain was a big issue. So. . . I would put that the second: *The Michigan Daily* and that. And those two overlapped to some extent. Because I gravitated to the kind of writing that had something to do with social issues like that, political issues. And third, came academic studies, which I liked. . . My official major was economics.

. . . I met Jews there, more than I'd ever met before, outside my family. A lot of them were from New York, that's how I learned Yiddish. We'd sit around and I'd listen to these guys talk this language, that I. . . sort of vaguely had heard about and I began to pick it up. There were a lot of New Yorkers, some from Detroit, you know Chicago. . .

I discovered recently. . . I read Arthur Miller's autobiography, *Time Bends*. He and I overlapped at Michigan. He was maybe a year or two ahead of me. He was on *The Michigan Daily*. He was in the progressive political student groups. He writes in that book some things I never knew or forgot. He went up to Flint, Michigan to write stories for *The Michigan Daily*, at the beginning of the sit-down strike and I went up at the end.

G: Why was Michigan so political?

G: Not always. It has cycles up and down. I'm not sure. I think that in those days, I would say one factor was a lot of Jews and a lot of New Yorkers who came out of just the backgrounds we were talking about. I think that contributed to that. After all, we were still only a. . . small minority on a campus of. . . fifteen thousand people. But we were an articulate and even a noisy minority. And because we were active in the newspaper, we got a disproportionate amount of information and thinking out.

Even if one did not go to college, it may be said that politics were majored by everyone. Conditions were bad as Bergman related earlier and Howe's circumstances become more clear (as does his affiliation with leftist politics). America's plight was visible everywhere, and by the winter of 1930-

31, the Depression hit the middle class. Weekly paychecks were smaller, the neighborhood stores had fewer customers, and subsequently, their survival became questionable. Ironically, the Depression did not prevent many people from realizing their long-term goals and projects, whether it was continuing their education, or continuing to champion the liberal politics which had begun in the Progressive era. Many of these views were voiced on the pages of the **New Republic**. The **New Republic** entered the 1930s with a readership from a wide variety of writers and became an important spokesperson for the liberals of that era. The Communist Party, too did its part in uniting like-minded people in offering more than political participation. They had camps, discussion groups, magazines, and even dances and social affairs, as well as lectures and writers' congresses. The Party, for the first time in the twentieth century, tried to organize writers and intellectuals in an effort to bring together an exchange of views both political and aesthetic in order to feel more of an active part of the American scene. This was one of the major contributions of the Party because most writers who had grown up in the 1920s felt that America had no room for the artist and the intellectual. Also in the competition for writers was the New Deal, which offered its own projects in the arts and theaters, as well as the Federal Writers' Project (Susman 1984).

Perhaps no one person embodies all of the above more than Richard Bergman, who was a bit older than Shulman. He was of an age where he could actively take advantage of and help his family out by working for the WPA:

B: WPA was picking up people who were applying for Home Relief, so if you applied for home relief and it could be demonstrated that you were eligible, you were placed on a list to be hired. . . . I knew somebody on a Federal Music Project and she recommended that I get a job there. . . . I got in the Federal

Music project not because I knew music, but because I was a writer. And so they put me into writing publicity. I would do releases for the newspaper on concerts and other kinds of events that the music project was putting on. I don't know if you know much about the WPA, but it was *fantastic*-- the four arts projects were just fantastic. There was music, literature, theater, arts, graphic arts and they did some remarkable things. The series of state guides was done by them, The Writer's Project. The artists did all kinds of things all over the country. . . arts, graphic arts. And they did some remarkable things. The series of state guides was done by the writer's project. The artists did all kinds of things all over the country

G: Who were your customers?

B: Who were our customers? The public came to concerts. We had choral concerts, symphony concerts, chamber concerts. . . . We had huge classes, teaching all kinds of instruments, Who were our customers? The public came to concerts, we had choral concerts, we also taught instruments. We had huge classes, teaching all kinds of instruments. Teaching voice and so on. And then, the particular thing that I finally wound up with was with the guys in the CCCs, you've heard of that, the Civilian Conservation Corps? These were guys who were just taken on by the government and given jobs in the CCC camps. Usually had to do with soil conservation, planting of trees and so forth and so on. And so they were divided in accordance with the army's division of corps or areas. So, we had x number of corp areas in the United States and I was associated with the second corps area with Headquarters at Governor's Island in New York.

And my job from Governor's Island was to deal with our music teachers who were stationed at the various CCC camps to teach choral work . . . instruments, all kinds of music activities to these guys when they got home. On their weekends, when they got home from planting trees or doing whatever they did in each camp.

And so I had a little magazine called *Chimes* (laughs), which I would get out monthly, with news for these people, with news of general interest, in terms of what what the musicians needed, wanted and so on. Yet, hopefully, it was readable for our campers as well as our teachers. Although our main attempt was to keep our teachers informed of what was going on. And so that's how I wound up in the music project [the CCCs].

These were kids from all over the country who were children of unemployed parents, whose parents were on relief, who had no job . This was the way of absorbing a huge population of junior people, who had either finished high school or who hadn't gotten through school, but were looking for work. There's a move on foot now to create similar kinds of work programs like the CCC. Because they got so much good work, they planted thousands and thousands of acres of trees, they cleared brush . . . and these people were from urban communities.

They were given their first taste of being outdoors, and essentially it was "make work" programs like all WPA, PWA—CCCs—they were all make work programs instituted under Roosevelt, to do something with 16 million unemployed. And many of these projects were extremely worthwhile. The Four Arts projects were of course, always under attack, because you know, we're spending money to let people paint, to let people write and let people play music and so what for? The CCCs were well supported, even by conservative elements in society. Because here was something being done, getting the kids off the streets, giving them three square meals a day, which indeed was true. And a lot of them became rugged strong. . . it was very gratifying all around. But we felt that we had to add something to it. And not only have them [be] workers, but have them [be] artists-in residence, musicians-in-residence, and it was a great program.

So what we had was a large number of unemployed people, a good many of them with artistic talents, some whom were lucky to get in and make \$23.86 a week on WPA and it was sort of a godsend in those days. It really was. There were plenty of people to draw from. As far as supervisory positions and so on, jobs like mine— my highest salary was \$23.86. . . I started out at \$13.26 a week. . . . That kind of thing required a little more expertise than being a CCC or music student at some neighborhood center. A lot of our music and art projects were set up in neighborhood centers in the cities. So, there were enough unemployed to go around, unfortunately.

G: Did you talk about when the Depression was going to end?

B: It was a highly politicized. . . group of people. . . . We staged marches, we had sit-ins, we had all kinds of things protesting cuts. . . counterworks was always trying to cut the WPA. And so we had to remain active politically and we did. . . . I became, at one point, chairman of the grievance committee of the union. . .

There was a WPA union and it advised people of their rights. It was very, very useful because the knife was out all the time to cut, cut, cut, and especially the arts programs came under fire. A lot of their productions were revolutionary. They were nasty, but even so this was a boondoggle. . . there were all sorts of boondoggles going on. In other words, these were jobs that had no intrinsic value or worth, as far as the critics were concerned. And therefore, they said, "Let's cut them. Let's cut them. "

This was probably the only time in American history when being a Communist seemed plausible and attractive to many people. For most of its history, the Communist Party had been an annoying and often humorous political sect. It was founded after the Russian Revolution by a small group American radicals (Wobblies), and a slightly larger group of socialist immigrants from Eastern Europe. According to Warren Sussman, the Communists were an arrogant bunch of people, believing not only in the inevitable overthrow of the capitalistic government but also that the Bolsheviks had proved the only way to accomplish this, and thus looked to Russia as a model and leader for the coming struggle (Susman 1984).

Although only a fraction of a fraction of the American public, they nonetheless attracted much bad publicity (attention that was out of proportion to their actual influence). The Russian revolution had frightened the Western world and the various governments took many harsh, quick steps to avoid a worker's revolt in their countries. The United States, under the auspices of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, launched a series of cruel, all-encompassing raids in late 1919 and early 1920. Thousands of suspected political radicals were arrested, beaten, and deported (Susman 1984).

Effectively silenced, the few members remaining went underground and the arrogance became more paranoid and myopic, while keeping its passion and idealism. Throughout the 1920s, the Communist Party kept a low profile in the United States, maintaining strong ties with the Communist

International (the agency responsible for spreading Marxist revolution around the world) in Russia (Susman 1984).

Suddenly, 1929 and the stock market crash changed all that. The earlier predictions of capitalism's demise, which had seemed ridiculous during the early 1920s, were coming true. As a result, the communists were able to organize some effective demonstrations, as Richard Bergman recalled:

On May Day, in those days, we celebrated May Days, we'd have big demonstrations in support of the WPA, as extensions of WPA.

I probably would have called myself, yes, at least a socialist. . . a kind of Fellow Traveler, a communist, although I never joined the party. That was the honorable thing to do, to be at that time, (at least in New York, and in Hollywood) to be a Fellow Traveler.

Being a Communist or a Fellow Traveler did not seem as pernicious as it had ten years before: the Soviet Union seemed to be making incredible economic progress. Unemployment did not exist and Stalin had a cool, efficient manner that infiltrated the American party. The Communists were still underground, but this time around, it was their choice, they were sure history was on their side. Another interesting facet of the Communist Party was that Jews were quite dominant in the membership. As related earlier in the narratives, some knowledge of radicalism (be it socialism or communism) was hard to avoid. Parents often had made the leap from religion to secularism and radicalism or sometimes an uncle (see Goldstein) or friends dropping by (Bergman) would introduce these ideas to a receptive child. As these intellectually oriented children grew up, radical thought was hard to avoid. It was in the media or in schools or in the streets, as well as in the schools and colleges, as Samuel Katz describes his experience at Harvard University:

. . . I was not a joiner, but you know, I'd go to the Young Communist League meetings. They would drive me crazy, the YCL because the ones who were leaders of those things were so articulate. You could never get a question in. . . . I was just suspicious of the whole thing because I was very suspicious of Stalin. Those trials that were going on. The Spanish Civil War, I can remember, we were on the subway down in Harvard Square and he's (a friend) and he's screaming at me because he's going off to Spain, which he did. Why wasn't I going off to Spain? I said to him, Look, I said, We got on to the train to go to Moscow, I happen to get off at the station in Berlin and I looked around, and I realized I was already in Moscow. There is no difference between the totalitarianism on the right and totalitarianism on the left. Now this puts a twenty-year-old fellow at Harvard absolutely in isolation. Because if you're not right and you're not left, what the hell are you?

Katz's recollection aptly illustrated the next change in American history. 1934 marked the Nazi triumph in Germany and growth of fascism everywhere. History (i.e., communism) seemed less inevitable. Communists' attacks on socialists had proven disastrous in Germany; in fact, a unified Left, which would have been bigger and stronger than the Nazis, might have defeated Hitler's takeover. At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, Bulgarian delegate George Dimitrov delivered a paper which called for a change in strategies: he called for a united front with socialists and other progressives to fight the fascist threat (Klein 1980).

This new policy was called the Popular Front and led to the Communist Party's greatest growth period in the United States. Joining the mainstream and Americanizing the party seemed logical. Ed Browder, leader of the party during this time, said, "Communism is twentieth century Americanism," (Klein 1980: 122) and the party tried to integrate itself with America's revolutionary past with the likes of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine and Abraham Lincoln. Old Glory started to appear at meetings and "The Star Spangled Banner" replaced "The Internationale." There were

communist and socialist youth groups working alongside the American Youth Congress; economic collapse was still a strong possibility and Hitler's presence was uncomfortably looming in the not so distant horizon. Everything seemed charged with importance and a united Popular Front seemed key. Many American Communists were joining up to go to Spain and fight against the spread of facism in Spain, where Francisco Franco, with help from Hitler and Mussolini, was attempting to overthrow the existing government (Klein 1980). Richard Bergman recollected:

Well, the Spanish War ran from '36-'38, and in '36 I was still in WPA. And as a matter of fact, until '39. When the War began, we saw this as a fight to end Facism. Because facism was going defeat the Loyalists in Spain. And so a lot of us saw through ourselves into all kinds of collecting activities and so on to help. A number of my friends went over to Spain to help, as members of the International Brigade. And some of them didn't come back, because there was a very heavy mortality over there. And the guy with whom I worked putting out *Chimes* was a Texan, and one day he walked off the job and never came back. And I didn't hear anything about him for several years. He had gone to Spain, he was politically, the most naive guy I ever met. But he was, . . . what we call now, a "macho man", but in a quiet way. in a very quiet day, he's 6'5" tall, very imposing guy. And very bright, his writing was excellent. He was a poet. . . . And he wound up in Spain and. . . moved to become a captain. And John M. and Elmond S. and other friends, guys, I knew, knew him over there and respected him. He was one of the most respected officers of the whole Brigade. For a variety of reasons, his strength, his military understanding, his intelligence. For example, one stunt he pulled; when he'd get a bunch of new recruits, he'd get in front of them say. . . fifty guys come in. He'd read off their names and as he read off each name, he'd look at the guy. Everyone was impressed by this. Anyway. . . so we had ties, at the time, I didn't know where Detra was, his name was Philip Detra. I didn't know where he was, but we had ties to Spain. Which turned out to be . . . the end of any opportunity for democracy and socialsim. So we worked hard at going to rallies, collecting money, petitions, and all kinds of things.

G: Did you see World War II as an extension of Spain?

No! No, I didn't. I had reservations about it. I felt that this might be-- there was evidence from behavior by Churchill, by the British government and others, that the western powers, which ultimately came to be a part of the whole thing, but before the United States entered, that they were hoping that Hitler would overthrow the Soviet Union. And at that time, I was still a friend of the Soviet Union, so it took me a little longer to get disabused than other people. And World War II at least initially, became to seem like a way of, not only defeating Hitler, but Hitler was not the—the real hidden enemy, it was the communists/socialists, the Soviet Union. So that this was a way of rounding up the forces. And there was some evidence that the real enemy was thought to be the Soviet Union. And as it turned out, the two of them came together, and then they fought together. Then at that point, I began to. . . I became disabused. And I said, "Well, this is our war." And then this stuff about Hitler became better known, and then it became my war and I joined up.

World War II was the first war to directly involve the entire world. Global in nature, its longevity and intensity brought the United States into a common experience with the rest of the world. Bergman's recollection of the war as "my war" echoed many Americans, Jew and non-Jew alike, as Hitler was bent on the destruction of the free world. All nations on all continents were subjected to the aggression of the Axis powers. Men joined up and women did their share in support of the War, as Rosa De Leon recounts:

I thought like some other girls that I wanted to be a nurse. When, I guess - I got out of high school I wasn't sixteen years old yet and so in those days, now you can go to nursing school, but in those days you had to be eighteen. That's how it really all started. So, I said, OK, I'll go to college until I'm eighteen and then I'll go to nursing school. Well, I went to College. Hunter, I was a junior and the War broke out in '39 and I was sixteen years old when I went and we got into it in '41 and then I was getting these lectures from our president all the time about how we should go into teaching, when there was a big need for teachers and . . . and you know, not to drop out and all this sort of thing. My family was, my brother was in. He was in Europe and my family was upset and so was I. . . worried. They kept saying to me, "See, if you had gone to nursing school, you would be there now." Well, I must say, you know that was a very different war

and we were very different then. You know in the wars that came later and of course I could think of nothing greater than to be there where my brother was, also fighting, you know, risking his life.

G: Yes.

D: I don't know, it may be hard to understand now, but it wasn't just patriotism, I mean anyway, but it was a big threat, it seemed. . . . you know, the western world was threatened by Hitler. At the beginning it wasn't even because we were Jewish because we didn't know what the heck was going on. First it was just the threat to the western world, then the other became apparent. Well, anyway, but they were saying you could be there , too. OK, so I kind of felt some sympathy for my parents view. I said, "Alright, it doesn't make sense to go to college for two years, I might as well get a B.A. And that 's the way it was, "I might as well. " Now, I'll tell you something, if I had gone into nursing, I probably would have ended up in medical research or something like that because in the same way that I bumbled along, you know, first I was just going to be a high school teacher, and you know, then I realized what the world beyond intellectually was like and I'm sure that if I had gone into nursing, I . . . probably would have developed . . . in any case, . . . it was in the back of my mind, even when I was finishing my Ph.D . "I'm going to finish my Ph.D and then I'm going back and I'm going to study." Well, I hadn't even taken chemistry. And that many years later, to go back and start studying chemistry, uh, you musn't think (laughs) that I had; looking back, it makes a lot of sense that I took more humanistic sciences. I took a whole year of anthropology, and you had to take a lab science, so I took a semester of what they called physiology. So I really took a minimum of that and yet I thought, I was very good at math. I thought I was best in math. So, I don't know, . . . in any case, well, at that point, I really gave up and said, "OK, you know I'm a teacher and I like it," it's all right. . . . for a very long time, I still, I'm *addicted* to reading medical articles. I have a brother-in-law (my husband's brother) who was a physician and when I would be in their house and I *always* found something I could understand in his medical journals. He'd come home and he'd see me reading. You know it, I'm not sorry, I enjoyed what I did.

G: What did you write your dissertation on?

D: I wrote my dissertation on Judeo-Spanish. It was then, the field was called linguistics. But it was nothing like it is now. It was really what we would call now descriptive linguistics: describing the dialect. Doing the grammar of that dialect, the folklore that's involved was . . . sayings and proverbs. . . describing the language. Yes, that was the technical part of it. All of the sounds and combinations and the grammar. . .

G: Did you study the community you had grown up in? Do you speak Ladino?

D: (nods)

G: So, your, your parents encouraged you to stay on and they were very supportive of this?

D: Yes, they were as supportive as they could be. I mean I worked from the time Hunter let me, which was not the first semester, I was too young, but you know, my family could give me. . . clothe me and feed me. So, I tutored and there was, Roosevelt had this National Youth Administration and so I worked between semesters and provided myself with thirty dollars a month.

G: Did you commute to school?

D: Uh-huh, the subway was, you wouldn't believe it. The subway was a place you could be on all alone, at any time of the night. My father would be a little bit concerned about me, and I'd end up coming home late at night. I can't believe now, that that time ever existed and I can't understand *why* it has changed or it will ever be that good. You know, how can we have changed so much. There was, it was *incredible*, there was nothing to be afraid of, nothing happened. That's what I feel sorry for when I , when you know, many things . . . nowadays, but we do not, but I feel sorry for the loss of freedom that we had and we did have a different kind of freedom. I know you have other kinds, but to be able to go anywhere *alone* , in the big city, without being afraid.— People still do it, but they're really behind, (laughs) you know, they're taking their chances. Let's face it. That was, we didn't, you know , know how special it was. Anyway, yes, so I commuted and and managed its pros and cons, too. During the war, I was able to knit one mitten on the way (if I got a seat) on the way down, and one on the way up (laughs). So, you know, oh I was involved in all kinds of war, war efforts. The telephone system in New York, Hunter was a big building, new then, and we had three stories underground and that's

where we had the whole emergency system if ever New York City or the east were bombed. And so they had all these expired numbers and we sat down there, I used to go at eight o'clock in the morning, read a book, you know. The only calls we got were from drunks who, whose old tavern number we had! Once in a while, we'd get a caller, but mostly eight in the morning drunks would call. But, you know, in case there were an air raid or something like that, then we knew how to get the ambulance, and there were other things like that that I could do and still go to school.

G: Did your friends do that, too? You know, was it a social thing?

D: I did more, well, because, I was the one with the *brother* there, I don't know, now that I mention it, two of my friends didn't have brothers, one had, but I don't know, none of them was in the army. Or, none of them was abroad.

As seen from De Leon's account, while the war raged on, behind the battle lines and the chiefs of staff's war rooms, less known developments anticipated postwar change that would affect men and women everywhere. Most veterans of the war recount bootcamp and where they were stationed and then talk about the GI Bill. These professors are no different; Irving Howe in his autobiography articulates the feeling of the war as implied in the life histories:

What did we really feel about the war in Europe? The early triumphs of the Nazi army were frightening, and we began to speak among ourselves about the terrible possibility of a triumph of totalitarianism throughout Europe, perhaps the world. Nor were these irrational fears. True, our simplistic notions —"Socialism or barbarism—"gained reinforcement from these fears, probably signifying a sense of hopelessness. Day by day (for there was no choice), we went along with the routine of our lives, within the small circle of left wing politics, just as other Americans went along with their routine, within the small circle of family. We tried to buoy ourselves with talk about holding fast to the line of socialism, but felt we were slipping deeper and deeper into apocalypse; the thought of surviving old age seemed an implausible vulgarity. Personal life, private feelings, all seemed trivial. I heard the news of Pearl

Harbor while walking along Fourteenth Street: a large crowd had gathered in front of a radio store, the news of the Japanese attack came in the neutral tones of a professional announcer, and a strange hush fell upon the crowd, as if there were nothing to say—all was fatality.

For several months longer I continued to put out our paper, until one morning a long-expected notice arrived in the mail. A few weeks later I was on the way to Camp Upton on Long Island. No longer a socialist writer, simply one conscript among others, twenty-two years old, nervous, almost anonymous, and with the novel awareness that for a time, perhaps forever, my life was no longer in my own hands. I would be the name and number stamped on my dog tags (1982: 88-89).

Jacob Kaplan, in his narrative of going to war, assures me that his life story is not a standard one and muses midway through his telling, what his life would have been like if he had not chosen the path he did:

I've often thought—as you go through life histories, you'll find,—I've often thought that there are cross-points at which a life takes a turn, often through some kind of accident and as you trace it through, you can see a major decision was made then. And you always wonder what would have happened if you had come down the other branch.

Kaplan reinforces what Mandelbaum has termed "turnings" in his study of life histories:

The principal periods of a life are marked by the main turnings, the major transitions, that the person has made. Such a turning is accomplished when the person takes on a new set of people, and acquires a new self-conception. The turning thus combines elements of three dimensions, the new roles being mainly cultural, the new interactions being social, and the new self-conception being psycho social (1973: 181).

Although Kaplan thinks his life is not a standard one, he and other men and women of his era all turned down a certain path when World War II finally erupted, thus contributing to a whole generation's *lietmotif*; the meanings around which they have constructed their lives and memories. These turnings and choices have formed a folk group or "community of memory,"

(Bellah et al. 1985: 154-155) one that does not forget its past. By choosing to tell me about their experiences with politics, college and World War II, they have shown me a tradition of storytelling that is key to understanding their generation. One cannot understand one without the other, as illustrated in the following excerpt from Jacob Kaplan:

K: (Slowly) I suppose I knew all along I would be going to college. Of my, there were two of my parents' family, two uncles of mine who had gone to college and they were both, they both had prestige in the family, because one in particular who was an engineer was the sort of the senior person in the family. He was also a very well regarded, he was always quite generous and so he became kind of a role model. And I used to say when people would ask me what I wanted to be when I grew up, I would say I wanted to be an engineer like Uncle Max. So I knew I would be going to college, but my aspirations at that time were to be a high school teacher. I didn't know about graduate school, I don't think or Ph.D.s or things like that. I knew that to be a high school teacher you had to go to college and perhaps take extra courses. . . I think probably until World War II, that's what I would do.

G: And is that what happened? When and where did you go to College?

K: Well, I started CCNY (City College of New York) and then did a variety of things. . . but then I had to drop out because . . . for financial reasons, but I continued to go to school at night. I went to CCNY for about three years at night. Taking, at that time, I was still interested in Latin, French and some . . . working toward a degree. Then, . . . I was interrupted during the war. After the war I applied to Harvard and was accepted at Harvard with- as a junior on the basis of the education I had before. I had also, in between, spent a few years in between at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy, I had applied to the Academy.

G: How did that work, was that when you were drafted. . .

K: No, (hesitates, laughs a little) well, I don't know how much detail you want. . .

G: I want lots! (laughs)

K: Because, this (laughs a bit) it's not a standard story.

G : That's OK.

K: . . . after I dropped out of school, I was working in the garment center and I and another group of young kids like me - shipping clerks we were, tried to organize our shop. I was very much into radical politics at the time. Labor was a big thing, our shop was unorganized and I tried to organize it with some assistance from a labor union. The boss found out about it and fired us all. So, I was without a job and while I was looking for a job—at that time . . . My whole crowd read very avidly, a periodical called, **The Civil Service Reporter**, which listed all civil service jobs... which were available. So, at that time I was looking for a job and there were three for which I took the exam.

. . . One exam I took which was extremely popular, I think more people too, more young people in New York took that exam than any other. It was for what was called "sanitation man". A special exam for garbage collecting. As we talked about it, it was a well paying job, it was secure, and we all considered that that would not be a bad thing to happen, as I think back on it.

The other was printer's apprentice at the U.S Government Printing Office. If you got accepted for that, you would be admitted to a three-year apprenticeship program in the printing trades and if you completed, you were eligible for the union and for a life as a printer and the printing trades had a very high status in my mind in the atmosphere at the time. I would recall all the older people talking about the printers as having a very strong union, very good income. So, being a printer seemed like a rather good thing to be. Also, it seemed sort of like books.

And the third seemed like a romantic notion, it was an examination called, " New Type of Government Program," designed to attract more young Americans in to the US Merchant Marine. It was a cadetship program and if you were admitted to the program, (it was a competitive exam). . . then you would be sent out to sail on a merchant ship for a period of four years. That was the apprenticeship period, during which you were supposed to spend your time studying and one half working under the supervision of either the chief engineer or the chief mate, depending on whether you intended to be a deck officer or an engine officer. And each time you went out on a trip, the maritime service would give you a stack of books— it was a correspondence course—a stack of books and a stack of exams—open book exams that you were to take. Then when

you came back to port, turn in your exams, and then you go over them as in a correspondence course.

G: What kinds of exams were they?

K: Engineering, mostly, transfer, mostly engineering, because I signed up for engineering. I was accepted into all three programs. And I had some difficulty in choosing between the printing program and this cadetship. But this was a very romantic thing... you get to work on ships and get away for awhile. So I chose that. And for about two years, two and a half or so, I sailed on merchant ships on this program and the experience could still be called war. It was 1939, I remember, the war had already broken out in Europe. I felt after about a year and a half of sailing that I loved the life on a ship. I liked the sea, but I had some very long voyages, There was one that was seven months that I was away from home, to the Far East, the Phillipines and I knew that kind of life wouldn't satisfy me, so I was looking for a way of living that would enable me to be a seaman, yet wouldn't take me away from home that much.

And then, I learned about the Coast Guard which did that. It was a seafaring life, but you always had a home port and also, it was ideologically acceptable-- it was a life saving organization. I would not have joined the Navy at that time, but this was a peacetime, maritime occupation. So, then I applied for the examinations for the US Coast Guard Academy and since at that time I was pretty good at taking exams, . . . (we both laugh) I had been doing that all my life. I was accepted to that and admitted to the Academy, in July, 1941 and that's important because that was before the US entered the War.

December seventh occurred while we were cadets and suddenly the academy was converted from a peacetime academy to a wartime academy. The curriculum was accelerated, so we could be trained more quickly and I studied there for two years and then decided that I knew enough about the Coast Guard at that time and what the life would be like. I decided that that was probably a mistake. I was not going to be a seafaring person all my life. If you graduated from the Academy, you were obliged to spend another three years in the Coast Guard as an officer, sort of a payback for the free education. So, I decided that I didn't want to do that. I wanted to go back to college. I resigned from the Academy and this was during the War and then reapplied for the Merchant Marine.

The Merchant Marine needed seamen and spent the rest of the war on Liberty ships as an engineer, sailing on liberty ships, troop transports, supplies transport and that lasted until the war ended and that's when I applied to all sorts of colleges, including the University of Michigan. And I was accepted at Harvard and Harvard gave me credit, as a junior, on the basis of the engineering program, science and engineering that I had studied at the Coast Guard Academy. So in 1947, I got my B.A. from Harvard.

G: In what?

K: In economics. And I had always been interested in languages and I had always been interested in socialism and the Soviet Union, so while I was at Harvard, I needed another language. Now that I think about it I did know quite a lot of languages at that time. Either I needed it, or I was entitled to study another language. So I decided upon Russian and I took two intensive summer courses, that's sort of equivalent to two years of Russian. By the time I graduated, I was still thinking that I would go to graduate school in economics. But I was still thinking that I would run out of money in a year or two and that I would teach high school. And that perhaps some time in the future I might go back to school.

But, this again is one of these forks in the road. What happened was that just about the time I graduated from Harvard, a new program was introduced here, a program in Russian Studies. There were two programs in the country at that time just recently founded, one here and one at Columbia, which would train people in various aspects of Soviet Society. And by that time, . . . they offered fellowships, rather liberal fellowships, studying Russia, the Soviet Union. And since I had at that time, two years of the Russian language and an undergraduate degree in economics, I was very qualified. That's just what I wanted to do. So I entered that program. So that was two years of study, studied some more language, some Russian history, it was a regular area studies program in the Soviet Union. It was a two year program.

These professors, like most survivors of World War II did not dwell on the action (very few in this study actually experienced it) at the front. They all told of hearing about Pearl Harbor on the radio, enlisting or being drafted,

then getting out and taking advantage of the GI Bill. Richard Bergman in the following excerpt talked about this "turning" in his and others' lives:

B: When I went to school, to Columbia in 1946, most of my classmates... we had a huge entering class of first year graduate students in anthropology. Almost all of them were male and almost all of them were veterans, taking advantage of a very generous GI Bill. Because they paid you, if you were married: A hundred twenty bucks a month, they paid for your books, they paid for your tuition, they paid for your lab fees.

I finished in record time. . . I started in '46, I went for a year and a half, taking courses, a regular course load; you needed two years of courses and then the opportunity to do the field work in Puerto Rico came and I took that and I was down for twenty months. When I came back, I had one semester's work to do, but I had already written a draft of my dissertation, based on my Puerto Rican fieldwork, so I finished courses in that spring semester, rewrote the dissertation and got the degree in July of 1950. So it was under four years, which is kind of a record time.

G: Have you kept track of the people in that class?

B: Yes. . . there are five of who are and I say five of us because I believe we were a cohort. If you know anything about contemporary anthropology, these names are all recognizable to you. There's Eric Wolf, Sidney Mintz, Stanley Diamond, Morton Freid, Elvin Service, and myself, there were six of us. And all of us became distinguished professors or professors and chair or something like that.

Yeah, Sidney was a vet, . . . Wolf was a vet . . . Alan Panilla fought in Spain, Yeah, we are all veterans.

By the time World War II ended, about thirty million Americans had been involved in the war effort as members of the Armed Forces or as employees in defense-related industries. Once demobilization was completed one-quarter of the work force consisted of veterans. In anticipation of this flood on the job market, the largest educational program in the United States history began on June 22, 1944. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act (more commonly known as the G.I. Bill) (Mosch 1975) became a landmark

institution. Growing out of a crisis situation, it provided an immediate answer to demobilization, providing job training, loans, unemployment compensation and assistance, medical care, help to over fourteen million in their transition to civilian life and perhaps most significantly, provide educational benefits which altered these professors' lives (as well as effecting the social and educational philosophy of the United States government). Most of these professors took advantage of the G.I. Bill in order to complete their education and all of them came to Brandeis University, which was founded in 1948 in response to the post-war boom interest and need for education.

Circumstance, turnings, and experience have created a riveting culture of memory here. The life histories presented in this chapter contain personal encounters with history. Not all the narratives talk about successes and achievements; these are real people and they accordingly address the pain of circumstance: anti-Semitism, the Depression and the war. In these narratives they carry a context of meaning that allows us to better understand the will and circumstance of their culture. Without understanding these moments, success stories do not ring true; for the communities of memory in allowing for the painful, give a richer texture to the stories of success, in this case, becoming professors and turning experience into hope for the future.

In highlighting the various moments of history these professors lived, I have demonstrated how these communities of memory remembered how they came to be, their hopes and fears and how their lives reacted to history, how the individuals changed his/her ways in order to cope with new conditions. Kaplan, however, is wrong in that his story is not a standard one. The details differ, but history did not veer as Kaplan, Shulman, De Leon,

Katz, Bergman, Goldstein narrated their individual experiences of the twenties, thirties and forties and how they came of age.

Chapter Four

Presentation of Self in Life History Construction

About six or seven years ago, Dick Bauman, then chair of the folklore department at Indiana University, was going over my graduate record with me making sure I had all the proper requirements before taking my preliminary doctoral exams. Everything seemed in order, then he looked at my languages (we had to have reading knowledge of two languages). "French and Hebrew," he remarked gruffly, "An interesting choice of languages for an Americanist." He, of course, was thinking like a transplanted Texan, and was disappointed that I had not chosen Spanish. I explained to him that I studied both for many years, and I did not want to bother studying another language when there was so much else to focus on in graduate school. He accepted this decision but I could tell he was a bit disappointed. A few months later, I went to Washington D.C. to work on the 1988 American Folklife Festival where my home state of Massachusetts was featured, along with Soviet and Cajun dancers and musicians. Among the Massachusetts ethnic groups highlighted were the French-Canadians and although my French was not required with them it was helpful as it was also with the Cajun musicians. I remember being a bit pleased with myself and thinking I had to tell Bauman that at least one of my languages made sense. However, even I was surprised by two other incidences which reinforced my choice to study Hebrew.

The Festival, situated on the Mall in Washington, D.C., is free and open to the public. There are many tourists, American and foreign, and during the ten days of the festival, I got asked at least once a day by some lost

Israeli tourist, where the post office was or which way a certain museum was located. These negotiations were always performed in Hebrew though nothing about my "official" dress indicated I was Jewish. I have dark hair, dark eyes, I guess I look Jewish (growing up in Waltham, I always felt I could be Greek or Italian as well, thinking my look was generic Mediterranean) . How then did they know I was Jewish or better yet would be able to understand Hebrew? I didn't have long to meditate on these incidences, because I was always rushing around, trying to keep track of all my duties. One of my many jobs at the Festival was to keep the Soviets organized and help them as much as possible (I only knew "nyet" and "da" in Russian). I remember standing by the stairway to the dorms at Georgetown University dormitories handing out information packets and smiling. A tall, dark and handsome Georgian singer took the packet, looked into my eyes and said, "Mah Shlomaych?"¹ Without even hesitating, I answered back, "*Tov, todah*²---" before I could even ask him back he kissed me on both cheeks and introduced me to two other Jews from Georgia. We became fast friends, but I kept asking him how he knew I was a Jew and that I would speak Hebrew? They told me I just appeared so Jewish. I laughed because after living in Indiana for five years and felt more Hoosier than anything else. When I got back to Indiana later that summer, I told Bauman of my encounters and he told me laughingly I was absolved and in a mocking tone he approved of my languages.

Still, I was left with a fundamental quandary. I rarely think of myself as Hanna the Jewess. Mostly I think of myself as Hanna from Boston, a rabid Celtics fan, ABD and being the third child out of four in my family. My Jewish identity is so embedded in me, much like the color of my hair or eyes, that I don't give it a second thought except when I go to synagogue. I think

growing up in Waltham helped define me this way. Waltham does not have a large Jewish population so I never lost sight of the world beyond my family and the Jewish community. Unlike other suburbs of Boston (Newton and Brookline) where public schools would be closed on some of the High Holidays, I always had to miss school and make up work and was conscious of the fact that I was always expected by the others at school to be the authority on Judaism-- from kindergarten and on, my sister and I were always asked to give a speech on Chanukah for our classmates. This role of Jewish *maven*³ has followed me to Iowa, where I currently teach American Folklore and American Studies at Grinnell College and serve as the director of Toldot Iowa, an oral history project on the Jews of Iowa. Since coming here, my identity as a Jew has even a higher profile. Out of nowhere, questions concerning Judaism are forwarded to me via e-mail, I was asked to lecture at the Methodist church on Judaism-- or rather how I did Judaism-- and when I first came to Grinnell many people in town and on campus thought I was a long lost sister of the other two Jewish women known about town. I must add here that I am not the only Jew on faculty at Grinnell; quite a few have been around for years before I came, and most of them are more religiously active than I am and several have even been involved in town politics. I used to get annoyed and think how provincial and racist these Iowans were (it would never occur to me to ask them what it is like being Christian). Provincial, I think now, but racist not really. They saw me as a Jewish woman largely because they made a single, unified whole out of what I saw as divided components of my many selves. I am pretty enthusiastic when I talk or lecture, gesturing and gesticulating to make a point; I can tell a good story, have an ironic sense of humor and my frame of reference is eastern and urban (where most people think Jews from this country originated!). Most

obviously I present myself as a physical being whose very actions and looks are not unlike the marked and unmarked vowels in linguistics. I see myself foregrounding certain aspects of my presentation of self as I try to be the many persons I need to be in the many roles I have to play in the many situations of my daily acts of interaction. I see myself as teacher, daughter, confidant and friend, and, in each case, both Hanna and the side of Hanna that I show are never quite the same as the ones I display to my father or as to a friend, or to a colleague. They see one Hanna, a single self with integrated markers all of which convey a single message, and my annoyance with them is that they deny me the freedom to distribute myself among all those selves. I struggle daily in Iowa with a dialectical process which tries to construct me within a single category. I am not ashamed of my Jewishness, but I want them to see is what they do not know they have, to be accepted as an Americanist, someone who can do a good job of teaching Melville as well as being a connoisseur of bagels.

As I think about it now, I realize that these feelings were just as central to the lives of the professors I interviewed. I wanted to work with a group of people that shared the same outlook, words and culture I did. I interviewed them about their lives, and as the interviews took shape, certain Jewish themes came out, but I deliberately did not set out to make a Jewish dissertation; rather I chose to unpack these professors lives, highlighting the many themes their stories touched upon because I thought the many selves were, were worth studying. Brandeis University's founding philosophy of being was at once Jewish sponsored and nonsectarian. Just as Brandeis was unwilling to be the expert on what is Jewish in the twentieth century, what is Jewish for these people, and what is perceived as being Jewish, I wanted to avoid standing in judgment of these professors' identities. However, like my

experience of being many Hannas reduced to one, they lived in cultural spaces where they struggled to link the parts of themselves into coherent presentations of self without having to become the selves they portray. Accordingly, almost in spite of my original desires, I need to explore how these professors coped with the problem of being the kind of Jewish people they wanted to be. Like the institution at which they worked, I need to discover how they were Jewish and non-sectarian.

Specifically, using Erving Goffman's framework of theater (1959) as a metaphor for the way in which individuals present themselves and activities to others, I will explore the ways these professors performed their Jewishness to me. In so doing I will be arguing against an idea central to traditional Judaism; that is, that identity is essential that at the core of the person is something solid, complete, a soulful self, a Jew. However, for Goffman, identity is not something contained inside, rather it is the way that people in everyday social intercourse present themselves and their activities to others, an attempt to guide and control the impressions they form of themselves (1959). In this case, then Jewishness is acting and, I as the researcher, created the interview context. A theater in which my informants and I built a common center of reference. I heard their narratives as part of their performance in which they presented themselves as characters in a Jewish narrative. Using Brandeis as my study base, I was more or less guaranteed we'd make a Jewish story, since as most scholars and Jews themselves agree, ". . . that narration is a cultural focus in east European Jewish society." (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1991) They willingly took part in my study and became actors because it allowed them to display their complexity of selves to someone who understood. Thus, this chapter will examine the various narratives and personal experience stories which concern Jewish themes, the

professors' choice of coming to Brandeis, and their connections with Israel, as examples of how these scholars dealt with the demand that they live their lives as all the many people, professors and Jews they are.

Before proceeding it is necessary to talk about both the unwieldy notion of "non-sectarianism" and the founding of Brandeis. Richard Wright once wrote that black and white Americans were engaged in a war over the nature of reality: that their descriptions of the world were incompatible. Thus, a redefinition of the world was necessary as a first step in order to change it. World War II and the Holocaust demanded such redefinitions and descriptions as people attempted to come to terms with both the war and postwar politics. It was not possible for a thoughtful person to remain quiet; the old belief systems whether conventional Marxism or conventional liberalism, had proven insufficient. Milan Kundera wrote "The struggle of men against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting." (Kundera, 1982) This struggle intensified as one political surprise after another occurred; the perfecting of the atom bomb questioned not only theories and definitions of progress, but the survival of humanity as well. The Soviet Union's unexpected growth redefined the threat of totalitarianism in new complicated ways. As well, western Europe in refusing to buy into Marxist prescriptions, underwent amazing revivals, thereby mocking both the Left and the Right who had once sneered at the bourgeois democracy. The Cold War became the dominating force in the world, cutting short whatever hopes for peace had survived World War II.

American liberals and intellectuals abandoned Marxism, stumbling from idea to idea, writing articles and organizing seminars in universities, searching for a philosophy to re-tool the world. Non-sectarianism, the philosophy of disenfranchising oneself from religious affiliation came into

vogue and appeared as a promise of a continuation of Matthew Arnold's civil society in which people do not take stands, but rather live with the paradoxes of belief and doubt. Three attempts at non-sectarian "foundings" are relevant here. First, in 1947 the English Labor government agreed to free India-- a huge country of about fifteen major languages and countless minor ones, not united by race, religion or culture, thus prompting J. K. Galbraith's pithy description of India as 'functioning anarchy' (Rushdie 1991).

Second, the state of Israel was established in 1948, founded with three basic objectives: to create a Jewish state, a democratic state, and a state that would be located in about half of what technically constituted Palestine at this time (the land from the Mediterranean Sea to the Jordan River and even some parts of Jordan). Although united by religion, Israel was filled with Jewish immigrants from all over the world and sabras (native-born), and one is tempted to describe it too as a controlled anarchy-- or at least a chuckle/sigh at this joke: An old man, who had immigrated to Israel from Romania finds out from his doctor that he only had a few months to live. The old man immediately sets about packing up and making plans to go back to Romania. A friend of his comes by and asks him why he wants to go back to Romania to die. The old man answers, "Because at least in Romania I'll die as a Jew. Here in Israel, I'll only die as a Romanian!" The very idea of non-sectarianism is paradoxical, yet that paradox was what the world seemed prepared to grapple with in order to make sense out of post-war chaos.

The third paradox of 1947-48 years was the founding Brandeis University, the first Jewish sponsored non-sectarian university, in Waltham, Massachusetts. In 1948, to be Jewish and non-sectarian was seemingly to choose nonsense. Jews are the most sectarian people in the world: they have existed for 5754 years as a sect. As they came in contact with the

Enlightenment, and America, they became Jews who ate pork, worked on the Sabbath and took active roles outside the shtelts and within the western world. Thus, their identities became both plural and partial, a people at times straddling two cultures and at other times falling in between the two. This ambiguity spawned the need for a school like Brandeis; a school founded by Jews but not exclusively for Jews: where Jews could study with other Jews and be taught by Jews but not learn Jewish things exclusively.

In the United States, such goals were not all that unusual. Most universities and colleges were founded by denominational groups that organized the school on a partial secular basis. Harvard was founded by the Congregationalists, Princeton was founded by the Presbyterians, Boston College was founded by the Catholics; in fact, over a thousand schools were founded this way in almost three centuries. Curiously absent from this club, however, were the Jews (the People of the Book). They went to these schools and supported them, but they never took on the responsibility of creating a denominational school with a secular curriculum. Abram Sachar, founding president of Brandeis told me in my interview with him why Jews had been so slow to found a secular school:

Why can't we do this, too? But always there was something that was more important to do. Let's do it- but this isn't the time. We've got anti-Semitism to fight, and we've got Hitler to contend with, and we've got Israel to build, and we've got-- there's always a problem. We've got our own institutions to build. We've got to put up a temple, we've got to put up a synagogue, we got to put up an old folk's home and so on, so let's wait until a campus becomes available. (Abram Sachar, 2/1/89)

A campus did become available and Sachar became an incredible spokesperson and fund-raiser for Brandeis. In the same interview I had with

him, he reiterated the idea of it being the time for Jews to host their own institution and told me how he got the funding.

S: That's why I asked them before I'd come, they had to guarantee the first four years. You could found a golf club and it could fail and you're only embarrassed, but if you found a university and it fails, you're knocking faculty out of jobs and you're ruining the educational opportunities for students. And so they underwrote this. This is why they're wonderful founders. They put their lives on the line, they were never called upon to meet that guarantee because we succeeded from the beginning, but. . . and it grew. In my administration we put up eighty-eight buildings. Had to raise about four hundred million dollars for it.

G: And how did you go about doing that?

S: Well, I had a good message. I used four words which I put in the book, *A Host at Last*. Those four words stimulated the pride and the sense of self-identity of a very proud people. I could go to California and I could go to Texas and I could go to Minnesota and I could come here and I could say to them, "How long do you want to be a hitchhiker? You've always been a guest in other people's institutions that they built. Isn't it time for you to become a host? And it was . . . like magic! They could be alums of other schools. . . but this was an ancillary loyalty for them. It didn't compete. And we, and we're still doing it. It took us twenty years before our alumni could help us because they were still paying pediatric bills. They were paying off loans. But now we're beginning to get alums who are in their late forties, and early fifties and they made good. And we could appeal to them for help. But in the first twenty or twenty-five years, we didn't have a lot of alumni who could help us, so we adopted them and we called them foster alumni! (laughs)

G: How did you do that?

S: Foster alumni and they helped us, you see. You get wonderful gifts. We have the names on a lot of buildings here of people who gave fortunes. Lou Rosenstiel, you'll have a chapter on him: the head of Schenley, one of the great liquor empires in the world. My meeting with him was very expensive for him. It cost him nineteen million dollars (laughs), but we got the whole biochemistry department organized with him, you see. Jack Goldfarb was a great manufacturer of underwear, *Fruit of the*

Loom. Got the library from him. So, and we had a good story to tell and it created a lot of interest.

On one level, this is a fairly typical American academic story but it is also illustrates well the tension of duality of institution and person facing post-war Judaism. The ground Sachar sought to occupy with his university was at once the middle ground between Orthodox and Reform Jewry, but it was also uncharted territory. Orthodox Jewry being a proscribed way of life by the authority of a corporate communal structure and religious culture. The traditional community mediated between the individual Jew and surrounding society. This Jewish community was both a political and religious entity and served as a framework for Jewish self-governance within boundaries permitted by the outside world. This community also served for the collective self-understanding which sustained and made meaningful the persistent Jewish struggle for existence as a distinctive national and religious group. On the other end of the spectrum is Reform Jewry which began in Germany during the first half of the nineteenth century. Reform Jewry called for a radical re-shaping of Jewish life and its frame of reference. Everything from the traditional liturgy and forms of worship were modified; dietary laws and other practices which interfered with social intercourse with the outside world were abandoned. Jews not only had other things on their minds. They had other minds. To be the religion he wanted then to be (the kind capable of supporting his university) they had to confront how they defined their participation in America. Sachar often told his audiences about a pledge that Peter Stuyvesant demanded from twenty-three Jews that had been excluded from embarking from a boat in New Amsterdam's harbor. They could land only if they promised that all the Jews who came in the future would never be a burden to non-Jews' hospitality. In Sachar's rendition, a

university that only accepted Jews would not be in the spirit of this pledge (Gliedman, 1989). The nature of Sachar's appeal was his genius. He knew he could not get any of the old German-American Jewish money at first. Instead, he turned to the Eastern European Jews who had made their fortunes after the war, those men mostly lacking in education, yet totally dedicated to the idea of it for the sake of their children and their pride.

A campus secured, a name given, now the faculty had to rounded up. There were not only quotas for Jewish students in the academy. As well, Jewish professors were not the norm and Brandeis shrewdly took advantage of this prejudice and went about collecting those with Ph.D.s who had other careers, bright, eccentric people who lacked Ph.D.s or had European credentials. Thus Sachar re-created the cafeteria of City College and the lively dairy restaurants of the lower east side-- mixing political forums and kibbutz with Jewish intellectuals and refugees, who in turn, found a new career and new audiences. Frank Manuel taught history, Lewis Coser taught sociology, Abraham Maslow psychology, and Herbert Marcuse his version of Marxism (Howe 1982). Max Oppen, one of the original faculty members, remembered well his entry into Brandeis:

I knew nothing about Brandeis you know, I was. . . in fact I told many times the story of how when the first mailing came from Brandeis, I deposited it in the waste paper basket because I thought it was one of these, today you'd call it, a time-sharing plan (laughs). It was, in other words, junk mail. So I don't read my- according to my wife- even today I don't read my mail very carefully. Sometimes she uncovers absolutely incredibly important letters and things that I've thrown away. But I did throw this one as a matter of fact, and only later in the day, a professor there [University of Chicago], who was one of my colleagues. . . he said to me:

"You know there's a new institution, a rather interesting one, starting up in the East, called Brandeis and . . . they interviewed

me and they asked me if I had anybody at Chicago that might be possibly be interested in it."

Now, you see I was more Jewish than he was so he immediately associated me with the possibility of being interested in Brandeis.

Here, in essence, is the crux. "More Jewish" is a peculiar identity in that it implies control, construction. To be more Jewish is also to imply less. As his narrative continued, what he meant by "more Jewish" got more defined. It became clear that he, like the the others interviewed, constructed his identity inside of an institution, Brandeis. As Goffman suggested, a framework from which people present themselves can be any social establishment surrounded by fixed barriers to perception in which a particular kind of activity regularly takes places. Within those walls of of a social establishment, one finds a team of performers who cooperate to present to an audience a given definition of the situation (Goffman, 1959). In Oppen's case, and the other's case, Brandeis and its non-sectarian policies shaped its faculties presentations of self. Oppen sees his identity as fluid and therefore makes it ambiguous. Less Jewish is not "either or," Jewishness then becomes a matter of choice: a quality not a condition. This fluidity then created the paradox; and just as Sachar knew how to appeal to the merchants and businessmen for backing, he was equally capable at persuading such faculty to join on.

. . . So, what happened was, that when, Dr. Sachar. . . was named president, which was some time after I was interviewed, he came to Chicago, . . . on other business. He was a national representative of Hillel and so on. . . . He interviewed me in a hotel room in Chicago. And he was such a dreamer about the possibilities of this thing and obviously, somebody substantial who commanded my confidence.

Furthermore, . . . Here was my situation at Chicago. I was second year, of what would be a six-year appointment. --Was obviously

no promise of tenure, in fact little likelihood of tenure except that since I had come in an irregular fashion to begin with and was mostly judged by my publications, rather than anything else, it's just possible as I sort of vowed to myself at the time that I might be eligible for tenure at Chicago when my stint was up. Certainly in my second year, I was nowhere close to the six years that I had at least a couple of years to go before I had to make up my mind as to whether and if I wanted to make up my mind about Chicago, like Harvard, it's an Empire. They have so many places that are interested in the people that they cannot give permanent jobs to, that I could have gone to many many places and I knew that.

I chose Brandeis for very humdrum reasons. My mother and grandmother were both widows by that time and I was really, along with an uncle, their sole support and in terms of affection and emotion, very important to them. Of course I visited them as much as I could, you know, from Chicago but that's a big jaunt, particularly by train in those days. (To save money I used to go on the *Pacemaker* which was a seventeen hour journey sitting up --without taking, . . . an overnight like on the same train, to save money.) So, I thought Boston is close to New York, I mean only two hundred miles instead of close to a thousand, so that was one of my main motivations for coming to Brandeis. Furthermore, it's a new place, they'll have new people, he already told me there would be world famous people that he would bring in. The first one was Ludwig Lewisohn, at that time a very well known novelist. Second year, he brought in Max Lerner, and various others.

And I said to myself, "Look I'll take a chance." I mean, you know, I didn't seek this job really in Chicago, and I'm leaving here after only a couple of years instead of waiting out my time there. Suppose Brandeis goes down the tubes, as you know, it seemed possible, . . . well then I said I would be no worse off then I would be otherwise. They did offer me a considerable increase in salary over Chicago. So, I came as assistant professor here, which was at that time, I didn't realize, I was not so savvy and I chose you know that he didn't want to make commitments although you should. . . . that I would be promoted and so forth there were some other offers made to people below me at Chicago and they said immediately they wanted not only to be professor but that they wanted to occupy a chair at three times as much salary and so on. I'm not the sort to bargain or haggle in that way.

I came, realized it was a risky thing to do and I wasn't, I was really more a writer and a journalist, that's how I made a living, such as it was. But still, I thought that would still be available to me. And I never, never in my life did I have to look for a job in a college, every one of the things came to me because they had heard of me, read me or whatever.

Opper in a sense, was the prototype Brandeis professor as described. He was Jewish, he had a Master's degree, a non-tenured job at the University of Chicago and was from the east coast. His narrative contained the "moreness" of his self as he began to create his identity. He identified himself as a Jew, but slid away from it just as quickly as he told me about his self as a writer and journalist. Thus the personal and the institutional "moreness" intersect, for just as he was more than a Jew, a writer, and a critic, so was Brandeis more than a Jewish school. Opper continued with his narrative and how he was persuaded to sign on:

. . . A man named Cheskis, who had been at Middlesex, a dean at Middlesex... he was teaching, actually, as a professor in French. He had a Ph.D. in French from Harvard and he was teaching French Literature and I remember he would say to me, "Max, You know, as far as Lewisohn and I are concerned, we won't see it, but you'll see what this place is like in thirty years or forty years, it's going to be a great university. This was simply based on his faith what the Jews started, they would not let down until it was excellent. . .

G: What did Sachar talk to you about?

O: Well, he had in his mind's eye, a vision, of the Jews, since this was to be their contribution to the higher educational system of America. Which was non-sectarian, . . . there was nothing extraordinary about the Jews supporting Yeshiva or Gratz College in Philadelphia, when it was ancient religion studies or Hebrew, or you know. But was unprecedented at that time for them to support a university which would aim, like Princeton, Chicago, Harvard and so on, they were coming from a denomination to be non-sectarian and a -- with a welcome mat out to all races,

nationalities and so on. So that was his thing which I thought I agreed very much with that thing.... you know that outlook was my own. I wanted to be at an American place, you see, with some Jewish affiliation. I had no objection to that. In fact, at Chicago, I identified myself as a Jew by attending Hillel meetings, forming a good relationship with the director there.

In the above narrative is evidence of Sachar's controlled anarchy and the tension of the two-ness of culture (Du Bois, 1903) that Brandeis and its faculty endured. In a more general form, such a tension was not unique to them, many scholars have noted that the history of Jewish identity could be written around tension between universalism and particularism (Cooney, 1986). Oppen, like many of his contemporaries, wanted to be a professor, teach at an American institution and feel comfortable as a Jew; he represents the moreness of Judaism that he told me how he identified himself, ". . . as a Jew by attending Hillel meetings. . . ." Throughout his narrative, Oppen constantly identifies himself as a Jew as well as his other selves and interests, again bringing together the personal and the institution's moreness and lessness of identity. The next excerpt well illustrates the nature of the problem of sponsoring a non-sectarian Jewish institution, an idea that many Jews would argue is an oxymoron:

G: Did you feel the support of the American Jewish community?

O: Well, I knew little of the Jewish community in America, so I was immediately cognizant when I came, that it was split in forty-seven different ways. You see, because Lewisohn, whom I mentioned before, the first year, was certainly the best known by far, member of the faculty was a passionate Zionist and while the school itself was certainly not hostile to Zionism, it was very far from being a Zionist outpost. In fact, Hillel at that time, still is affiliated with the Union of American Hebrew Congregation, which is Reform. And at that time, Reform meant something different than what it does today. Not that, there was a section of Reform that was hostile to the idea of a Jewish State, but I don't

think the movement itself was actively hostile. However, they took a wait and see attitude, you know. So that I was conscious when I came this would not be the place that Orthodox Jewry would support because at that time it had no religious facilities, .

. . . Furthermore, you know, Sachar was not, through his Hillel connection was not the sort of person that the Orthodox would be enthusiastic about. Nor was it a Zionist outpost, it was a kind of a -- what it purported to be, an American school, with a denominational sponsorship. The denomination was of the most liberal segment of American religious Jewry.

G: What year did you come?

O: I was the first one to be appointed, 1948. And now I am the last one to be in that class, as Brandeis recognized by awarding me an honorary degree, a couple of years ago.

G: What did the campus look like?

O: Yes, well the campus was very beautiful at that time. Instead of buildings, we had arbors and gardens and a wishing well, which became the first cause celebre for Brandeis students to protest against the Administration -- which in the process of development, was uprooting a lot of the scenic beauty of the campus. I taught in Ford Hall which was one of the original buildings outside of the Castle, although . . . it is now built up more than it was in those days.

We lived in the Castle, my daughter was born like a princess in the castle. . . . She was born on June 19, 1949 which was the year after Brandeis started, it started the previous September. It was the end of the first academic year. Everybody knew that Eva was pregnant, was expected to give birth. I came into breakfast that morning, Dr. Sachar was entertaining the whole faculty, Lewisohn and everybody else was there. The two guests that had been invited to participate and speak at the first convocation: Abba Eban who was representing Israel to the United Nations, and Ralph Bunche who was in the United Nations. . . So when I came in, you can imagine how I was showered by congratulations. And oddly enough, Eban was invited back to celebrate the fortieth anniversary in November of 1988, you know. And I recalled to him, this (chuckles) thing. Indeed, he remembered, he didn't remember this particular thing, he remembered my name.

Within this excerpt, I think is the Brandeis story. Oppenheimer, perhaps because he is a writer, beautifully narrated the creation story of Brandeis within his hodgepodge of life history. His narrative is a construction of self, choice and the history of Brandeis. The life Oppenheimer gave me within the interview was evidence of this duality-- actions which I observed both in their actions and within the institution's history. As well, Oppenheimer represents one end of the spectrum, one that doesn't mind being aligned with the religious aspect of Jewish culture, that he attended Hillel at the University of Chicago was a rarity among his generation. His initial encounter with the marketing of Brandeis is both humorous and very telling one, underscoring the tension between the older more established German American Jews and the first and second generation Jewish businessmen who initially backed Brandeis. From the way Oppenheimer answered my question, "Did you feel the support of the American Jewish community?" one should begin to understand the "controlled anarchy" of the Jewish problem at hand. Forty seven is an arbitrary number, there were/are countless Jewish opinions, philosophies, points of view that Brandeis, almost by default, became just the sort of school it purported itself to be: ". . . an American school with a denominational sponsorship." (Sachar 1976: 9) As well, the obvious Israeli connection is here as well. Israel, by virtue of its creation and heritage was bound to have a connection with Brandeis and having Abba Eban as a guest at the end of the first year covered all the bases of the Jewish belief spectrum as was Ralph Bunche's presence; Bunche, an African-American, in 1947 was appointed to the United Nations Palestine Commission. He worked with Count Folke Bernadotte on the Arab-Israeli dispute, for which he won a Nobel Peace Prize in 1950. Oppenheimer's description of that first convocation is

awe inspiring; all the themes Sachar talked about and Brandeis wanted to stand for seemed apparent in the guest list.

Nathan Alberts, Zionist, essayist and editor, also spoke to me about the double career people that were among the early faculty at Brandeis and hinted at the problems Jews had getting jobs within the Academy. As a sociologist, he was priceless in helping me understand the psychology of Jewish vs more Jewish vs the non-Jewish Jew:

A: So, I think that's one thing you'll find is that people, you'll find people who had double careers at Brandeis.

G: Why do you think that is?

A: It's part of the way in which it made this rapid leap. Sachar could take advantage of two things. There was a whole generation of people, in my time, who were academically trained, but not academically placed. And made their livings, carved out of a profession of a sort, in political areas. Journalists, writers, and political activists. People like Ludwig Lewisohn, who had been in academics for awhile, during the first World War, he got dropped for being a German, and then became a literary critic, then free lanced, then Zionist. There was a whole group of such people whose qualifications were peculiar. They were academically qualified, but not academically experienced. But they had carved out some sort of prominence for themselves in literary, political activities. He got very outstanding people for the faculty that way: by bringing these people back into academic pursuits. The other thing, that he did was, well, this was done by Samuel Katz, who was one of his deans. Well, he got a very strong science component, again, I don't know how Sam Katz recruited everybody, but he recruited. There may have been something of the same thing, more Jewish kids are out than came up to the normal,-- I don't know what the situation is there, but those are the two strengths and they were out of the proportion with the age of the university. They were exceptionally strong in these two kinds of areas.

It was the place where you had-- the gentile academic component was also made up of people who enjoyed this kind of marginal Jewish intelligentsia environment. And then what happened was, beginning with that, they started recruiting younger faculty who

came up in the normal way, but wanted to be in the Boston area. Harvard was the model, Harvard was the attraction because if they taught at Brandeis, they could probably get to use Widener Library, if they were humanists (and Brandeis's library was very poor, but got built up very rapidly, still, it's not Widener). And, you had a community here.

. . . the faculty was strongly leftist, I think. Old left division, both old left and new left. It was strongly Jewish and the gentiles who were there were people who enjoyed-- even the Jewish component of it. They enjoyed it because it wasn't too Jewish. It was a non-Jewish Jewish type Jewish. Henry Aiken came over from Harvard to teach at Brandeis and used to go around boasting that he was one- eighth Jewish (laughs). It was because -- they liked this because it wasn't exactly... Hampshire College, Bennington or anything like that, but it was the nearest thing to it in the Boston area. And on an intellectually qualified criterion, I think it was probably better than Bennington and certainly Hampshire College. It had more eminent people.

Alberts's description of the Jewish component at Brandeis in the above two paragraphs hints at the tension Jewish intellectuals had to balance throughout their lives; to become like Americans and adopt values, goals and economic standards of the host society, yet not totally assimilate to Protestant, Anglo-Saxon mores as did many German Jews in the early part of the twentieth century. These old lefties and new right represented the less-ness of being Jewish, as Alberts described them being a non Jewish type Jewish. These Jews recognized the positive values which arose from a mixture of cultures and hoped to contribute to a new internationalized culture, not force one culture over another.

Alberts, as a secular member of the Near Eastern Judaic Department continued his life history which appeared to mirror Brandeis' own personality of duality of culture and religion:

G: . . . Did you socialize with these people?

A: Some. Well you know, I'm not a great socializer anyway, only with students. But, and the Near Eastern Judaic Department is considered a rabbinic enclave. That, I was there was strange because I was a well known secularist. Nevertheless, I had a lot of friends, individual friends. Including, particularly, there was a fairly large proportion of people in other departments interested in Jewish affairs. Zionists, even, especially in the science group. They all spent time at the Weitzman Institute [in Israel] and things like that. So, I think my friends were, (outside of the department), drawn, in large part from that group.

The working definition of "more Jewish" to be inferred here is those Jews who still practiced the religion of Judaism and surrendered to the stereotypic identification of a businessman (those very Jews who financially backed Brandeis). The "non-Jewish Jews" were those who escaped the stereotype, developed a loyalty to the intellectual life and the broad Western tradition in the humanities, and oftentimes were Zionists -- Israel, like Brandeis being another controlled anarchy.

In the next section, as I tried to understand Alberts and his presentation of self, he spared me the trouble and told me how and with whom he identified. He also candidly talked about the Anti-Semitism of the Academy before the War and how things appeared to open up after the War.

G: It's interesting, although you call yourself a secular Jew, you're interested in Jews as a culture then-- the things that your students studied, you studied, does that comes out of your upbringing you think?

A: A good part of it, yes, There is, to the extent that I'm the motivating force for what students did, for what I myself do, that comes out of the fact that I essentially belong to a generation of 1905 Jew. This is where I identify, these are my people. Second Alyiah in Israel, and the Jewish Labor movement in America, the Jewish Labor Zionist movement, even more specifically, and it's not, it doesn't exist much anymore. But, in other words, I think it has certain values, perspectives, on general humane issues. These are the kind of people I think are more right than anybody about all kinds of things. So, if that's the way you're driven, you run into all kinds of problematic

issues. Especially, if you're an historian, if you're a sociologist historian. ...it generates problems. It generates research, researchable problems, too. So that's always an advantage with graduate students. At that point, defining a dissertation topic is a major problem, and if you're able to supply some funds, that's even better.

Shortly after my time, people who got their Ph.D.s in the forties, Jewish kids began to teach sociology. I think up to the War, people who were Jewish had careers like mine. The end of the war and certainly after it, they began to have much more normal career paths. There is a big difference.

G: How come?

A: Because discrimination ended. And there was legal action against it and also there was a shortage. Things opened up (laughs). There was a very sudden change in the composition of faculties in the fifties. People coming back from the War found all kinds of things open that weren't open before.

I think that your getting the tailend of the pre-war generation in your [study] and very many had careers like mine. Well, if they got out of school in the early 30's, during the Depression, what they did was go into the WPA, and became writers for that or if they were not writers they got jobs working for the government and then afterwards, maybe they turned to teaching.

Alberts aptly described Sachar's shrewdness at collecting the faculty and creating the school; he, too was aware of the controlled anarchy of the place and seemed to be amused by it.

He [Sachar] had an eye for quality, he also had an eye for salesmanship. So a great deal of what he did at Brandeis was connected with work itself. Even the way he presented Brandeis to the public: as a host at last, that kind of stuff. So it may have given a sort of distortion which goes along with brilliance, some things he did exceptionally well, and some things he did which were, from a point of view of a balanced-- university budget scheming. Interests of faculty were outsized and that developed at the expense of what they wanted as a more normal allocation of funds. Also, he had kind of a rambunctious faculty (laughs)-- there were frictions.

G: I wondered if they would keep him in line--

A: No, he knew how to manage them very well, ...first of all, I think he allowed, he let the faculty to have a great deal of free rein, but that meant that he allowed them to shoot off their mouths about things to which he didn't intend to pay any attention to them. when he decided. It worked that way, things were quite lively.

Alberts also talked about the change in the motivating force behind Brandeis' founding. Initial interest in a Jewish school stemmed from medical school quotas for Jewish students. Need for a school like Brandeis was compared to the many Jewish hospitals that were built as a haven and home for Jewish doctors. As times and philosophies progressed, Brandeis could focus more on being the host at last and open to all creeds and religions, rather than merely insuring Jews an academic home.

G: Sachar had this vision for a school...?

A: Not just Sachar. . . It started out because of the difficulty in the thirties of finding places at medical schools in particular for Jewish students. They were all going abroad to study medicine. And the idea was that maybe Jews should supply a place that would accept Jewish students. In the same way that Jews build hospitals. Not only did they take care of the Jewish patients, who might want kosher food, but also to provide a place where Jewish doctors could practice. By late '48 when this got accomplished, that particular need certainly wasn't as pressing. I don't even know if it existed anymore. I mean people still go to Grenada and places like that to do medical studies, but not because they're Jews. So, the other thing that Sachar did, in addition to finding a group of faculty, highly qualified who had not placed elsewhere, was to find a group of Jewish contributors who authored their names on plaques and they were graduating from giving money to the CJP [Combined Jewish Philanthropies], and building Jewish hospitals. The next stage in prestige is to have your name on a plaque at a general university. He gave it to them very cheap, compared to other places. And then he made it sort of a matter of Jewish pride. We've got to have one of our own, which will be on the level of, serving the same function as Harvard, be open to everybody.

There are some problems about that, because other than the satisfaction of some Jewish benefactors finding their names on buildings, the community, if the initial community that supports it, is

still largely Jewish. They get the demand, that certain specific Jewish colorations that the university is less and less ready to give them. The department I used to belong to, is in a particularly strange position there. They continued to claim that they had to build up to strength. Which means they claim to be something equivalent to the Hebrew University's Judaica department, on a much reduced scale. That means you have to cover everything. You can't have a Judaica specialist who covers the whole field, you have to have another specialist for each of the component, and there are very many components, departments of that subject. So we continually fight for a Sephardi Jewish historian, some for Eastern Europe. Everything else that is required to cover the area, with some considerable amount of success compared to other places in America, because it is Brandeis. But not-- under constraints of economics because the university is more interested in developing into other areas. So that it-- attracting students from non-Jewish sources. And then you get into all kinds of business like this introducing pork rind or whatever it is in the kitchen. (I don't eat pork, but that's just-- I was never brought up eating it. I could never get used to it-- too fat for my taste. I eat a lot of bacon, but not pork. But still, if they never did it to start with, this was on the one hand provocative, on the other hand, not likely to be very productive. I don't see that they're going to you know, attract a lot of students because - on the basis of that. Never the less, it is the kind of thing they get into. If the idea is to start, in order to become, to go through the same history that places like B.U. [Boston University] Harvard, start as denominational schools ended up as a general university. You may do that, but along the way, there'll be a lot of problems. [Silence for a minute] Doesn't bother me particularly. It's a good place.

Once again, Alberts' digression about pork and bacon beautifully illustrates the paradox of the paradigm of Brandeis University. In the 1987-8 academic year, as Brandeis University approached its fortieth anniversary, it appropriately had a mid-life crisis, complete with a period of self-examination within the university over how Jewish should this Jewish-sponsored university be? The question arose when the administration decided to add pork and shellfish to the menu in the main dining hall. This decision came about as the trustees and administrations were trying to think of ways to attract a more diverse student body. By adding pork and shellfish to the menu, they wanted to reinforce the idea that Brandeis was merely Jewish-

sponsored, but not intended only for the Jewish community (Gliedman 1986). Alberts, by referring to this debacle presented himself as an example of controlled chaos that flowed over campus. What is important to notice is that bacon was acceptable in his world view, but that what mattered were the conditions under which he accepted it. There is a biblical injunction against eating anything from a pig! Historically, in the non-Jewish mind the Jew's non-eating of pig exemplifies what it means to be Jewish. In the more or less mess of being Jewish, this is living with the paradox which is understood as controlling the anarchy. Alberts professed to eating bacon but not pork; and it appeared that he disapproved of Brandeis' new policy. He, like many Jews wanted enjoyed the option of ordering bacon, but did not want to be served it at Brandeis. The question of power is essential here. Alberts wanted to be in charge, even as a secular Jew and he was annoyed that the rule was broken. It is a classic philosophical argument: Here is a law that I can break but no one else can break for me. Technically, one should refrain from eating or being served any pig product. If one is a contemporary Jew in America, one does not want to be told what to do; individualism is the problem in being an American Jew. The notion that one may choose what to do in certain situations creates tension within the Jewish religion. The trustees and the President were attempting to give more choices to the student body; the dining hall served unkosher food anyway. Pork and shellfish are symbolic food both within and outside the religion, however and to offer these food at the institution was ironically abhorrent to many. This confusing paradox is an example of the controlled chaos which revolves around choice. If an institution makes a choice, it is taking freedom away. Therefore, no institution which identifies itself as non-sectarian can make the choice of a religiously affiliated secular school in America.

Alberts, in the concluding excerpt from my interview with him, talked more openly about the irony of his life and job at Brandeis:

I guess you'd have to say, for somebody who has taken his direction from external stimuli so constantly, but never the less has managed to stay within a pretty narrow confine of things that really belong to him. You now, characteristically mine. I suppose that's true about everybody. — I don't know if it's an accomplishment or an inhibition or restriction.

You know once there was a young man _____ a young Negro journalist, came to visit me in New York. And his complaint was, it had to do with desegregation. You know here he is, Latin school [graduate], I think, Harvard, he's a journalist, a damn good journalist. All his friends are Blacks. How can he break out of this?

Why break out? You can be a good journalist and have all of your friends, most of your friends are Jewish, and write for Jewish journals, is that enough? I mean, it's not a question it's being enough, it's that what you should do. Anyway, that's what I did. Partly by force of circumstance.

Circumstance is the key word here, as Alberts deftly combined narrative and commentary about the founding of Brandeis and his personal beliefs. Alberts received a Ph.D in sociology from Harvard before World War II. As a Jew, he could not hope for an academic job then. Brandeis was founded in part as a result of this prejudice as well as the establishment's need in post-World War II for academic excellence without a parochial image. Alberts stayed at Brandeis because there he knew and understood most of the other faculty's life histories and it provided a sense of belonging and comfort. Oppen provided the other end of the scale; although he was not an Orthodox Jew, he was a practicing one and did not mind joining an American school with some Jewish affiliation. The structure of these selves had much to do with social encounters and circumstances of history as both Oppen and Alberts talked about various notions of Judaism, non-sectarianism, Abram Sachar

and Brandeis University's credo; by constantly bringing in their religious beliefs with those of Brandeis' they presented themselves to me in a consistent and identifiable manner-- they were Jewish Americans who had survived the melting pot and contributed an important voice to this land of cultural transplantation.

Endnotes

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- 1 Hebrew for how are you.
 - 2 Hebrew for good, thanks.
 - 3 Yiddish for know it all.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Above All, they are very shallow people who take everything literal. A Man's life of any worth is a continual allegory- and very few eyes can see the Mystery of his life. . . a life like the scriptures, figurative.

John Keats

John Keat's words should be adopted by the field of folklore or at the very least, should guide those scholars interested in life history, as they form both a warning and a challenge to those interested in documenting a life. Folklorists have always prided themselves on their fieldwork techniques and their intuitive ability to go beyond the facts and explore the intersection of self and tradition, allowing for the possibility that there are many different ways to tell/interpret stories and that the criterion for evaluating them is both moral and poetic. Folklore is where the self and tradition interconnect and form grounds of experience.

These grounds are literally where tradition transcends and seemingly random performances are linked to the past, placed in the present and kept for the future. Thus, this dissertation examined the coherence of life histories, focusing on the many ways one may view life histories in order to make sense of the lives told. In doing so, I made a claim for the recognition of the life history as a genre or proto-genre and claimed that within the act of telling one's life, there are many performances to be noted, those of personal narratives, proverbs, folktales as well as the life itself. In claiming that the life itself be honored, I also demonstrated how crucial the unedited text is in appreciating the life history. I have paid heed to Richard Dorson's injunction

against editing texts in his book on regional folklore, *Buying the Wind*: "A spoken narrative comes from the speaker's mouth with the freshness and spontaneity-and the garbled syntax and meanderings- of everyday talk. A written retelling is pruned and polished and often enough altered to suit the bias of the author and the expectations of the reader." (1964: 2) The presentation of the text is enhanced by the actual words and pauses of the teller. Granted, it may have been rough going at first, stumbling over the ellipses and reading through the tangents and digressions, but it was my intent to present the text where one not only read the words but was forced to listen to the voice: to hear the tropes and cadences as memories were recollected.

Personal narratives and anecdotes that are rewritten and spliced together read well but are literary adaptations of folk materials. By editing the texts, the folklorist or editor presumes to know what is more important than the teller. I claim the opposite; real life does not operate on a linear grid. Circumstance, will, and fate can cause many things to happen to a person in one day, and recollecting them at a later date does not insure "proper" chronology. Rather, hodgepodge rules: "Oral traditions may well exasperate the historian of a literate, or at least print-glutted society, with their quick-silver quality and chronological slipperiness." (Dorson: 1971:144) We are rapidly approaching the twenty-first century and pride ourselves on our technological prowess; we can and do capture these texts on audio and video tape. But many folklorists balk at using all the richnesses collected. I, like Dorson, urge those interested in life histories to re-read the digressions and crooked roads of the transcripts for in them are keys to deeper understandings of both the tellers' lives and the world in which they lived.

Also key to understanding the lives at the base of this dissertation was my

role as the ethnographer. My voice was heard throughout the dissertation as I explained my cultural lens through which I viewed the lives told and presented frameworks in which to view the lives. This interactive aspect of folklore methodology was explored throughout Chapter One as I described the various scholarly contributions to the study of life history. In introducing my voice as I explored the various circumstances of these professors' life histories, I reinforced the notion that we fieldworkers are biased but that bias is not a bad thing.

In fact, the lives retold and highlighted for various reasons all began to make sense as the dissertation progressed. One of the goals of my dissertation was to demonstrate to an audience how beautiful and interesting and valuable a life told and performed can be. By listening/reading carefully, one can learn much about a certain time period by listening to how the time period was lived. I also realized though, that a narrator of sorts is necessary in order to make the life coherent. In this case, my understanding of and presentation of the lives told was pervasive and reflexive. Barbara Myerhoff and Jay Ruby in their essay, "A Crack in the Mirror" critique the repressive discursive "scientism" which banishes the author/narrator from the ethnographic text:

Though reflexivity takes on different shades of meaning in various disciplines and contexts, a core is detectable. Reflexive, as we use it, describes the capacity of any system of signification to turn back upon itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself: subject and object fuse. A long tradition exists in which thought has been distinguished from unconsidered experience: where life is not merely lived naively without being pondered but regarded with detachment, creating an awareness that finally separates the one who lives from his history, society, from other people. Within the self, detachment occurs between self and experience, self and other, witness and actor, hero and hero's story. We become at once both subject and object. Reflexive knowledge, then, contains not only messages, but also information as to how it came into being, the process by which it was obtained. It demonstrates the human capacity to generate second-order symbols or meta-levels-significations about signification. The withdrawal from the world, a bending back toward thought process itself, is necessary for

what we consider a fully reflexive mode of thought. (1992: 307-308)

As I ordered the dissertation and the professors' lives, it was impossible for me not to remain both narrator and director. Ruby and Myerhoff, in exploring the notion of reflexivity as anthropological praxis, encourage the intuitive understanding and empathy of the ethnographer with his/her subjects:

These are invaluable but not universally shared abilities that can only be employed by an individual with a finely honed sense of self. It was not mere partisan ideology that caused the early theorists in Freudian anthropology to recommend that ethnographers' studies would be improved if they undertook to be psychoanalyzed. These days we are more ecumenical; we would recommend not five years on the analyst's couch but any personal study that develops the anthropologist's self awareness of his or her own culture. With increased self-awareness, studies can not only be more penetrating but also more reliable. (1992: 324)

Throughout the dissertation, I added in bits and pieces of my biography as guides to understanding the professors' world view. Highlighting the notion of hodgepodge and diversions of life history narrative as a way of appreciating this particular performance was cathartic for me. My greatest talent with people is in listening to them and drawing out their stories. I listen hard and throughout the years of being a good fieldworker, friend, daughter, sister and colleague, I constantly came in contact with various personal narratives, nestings and hodgepodge. My favorite writers are James Joyce, Isabel Allende, William Faulkner and Gabriel Garcia Marquez, writers all known for their stream of consciousness, stories within the stories and insightful depictions of the cultures they write about. Their influence is evident in my composition of the professors' lives, as I could not delete one digression or nesting from the text. I wanted to render the complete

transcription of Shulman's life in order for the reader to appreciate my ear for a life well told. My Emersonian transparent eyeball allowed me to hear and see and appreciate all.

Furthermore, I believe this dissertation has allowed me to come full circle in order to appreciate myself. I left New England in 1977, went to Iowa, Seattle, Indiana and back to Iowa, experienced all kinds of Americanness, and as noted in Chapter One, I felt a need to re-connect with my roots. Choosing the professors from Brandeis University not only brought me back in touch with cultural references I understood, it also brought me back to Waltham and New England and most importantly my family, where my appreciation of the hodgepodge of life history began as my parents and aunts and cousins shared their memories of "the Bubba" (my great-grandmother for whom I am named), Bubba, Pa, Zayde, Bubbie, (my grandparents) and countless other relatives. This past Thanksgiving my immediate family met in Fayetteville, North Carolina, at the home of my first cousin, Audrey. Her brother and his wife, my Auntie Barbara (my father's baby sister), Audrey's husband Bill and their two daughters were great hosts to us. It was chaotic and fun. One of the more memorable scenes for me was my father at the kitchen table, surrounded by my nephews and niece and cousins, everyone talking and gesticulating. Above the din I could hear my father telling the story of when Pa (his father) decided to surprise my Auntie Barbara one day at school. It was a winter's day and there was lots of snow on the ground. He hitched Old Tom (his horse he used for delivering furniture) up to a sleigh and went down to the school yard to pick up my aunt and her friends to give her a special ride home. I stopped for a moment and smiled and remembered a similar scene about thirty years ago at my grandmother's table, awestruck and jealous that my father and his brother and sisters had a horse and sleigh. The

kids were listening; I don't know if they had the same reaction with this telling, but God willing, my father will tell this story and others at the next family gathering and the next generation can start building a cache of hodgepodge for their life stories, if they choose to listen as I did. Folklore has allowed me the luxury of listening to life histories and family stories and other genres of folklore and to render them thoughtfully for an interested audience.

After introducing the topic, I explored the notion of coherence and the life stories that resulted from it using the metaphor of hodgepodge and by implementing an innovative emic frame from which to view the text. I shared a religious and cultural Jewish tradition with these professors; by constructing a chart using emic terms, I articulated a tacit understanding of both their and my world view. By combining my training as a folklorist and my own emic (Jewish) perspective I was able to devise the Torah/Haftarah/Talmud chart in order to create order, understanding and appreciation of this notion of hodgepodge or stew of life stories in a manner that captured the spice of this particular culture. This innovation lends itself to other emic studies of other ethnic groups: how would a similiar study look if the culture were Hispanic, Italian or Irish in nature-- what would the chart look like?

Following this detailed analytical text, I highlighted the circumstances of history and how the professors' various narratives were told as a way to claim or negotiate membership into this group of people who experienced the Depression, World War II and Anti-Semitism as well as their stories of going to college and the incredible political involvement of the times. In doing so, I analyzed the manner in which particular meaning indexed the features of self, group identity and culture in the professors' lives.

Finally, I unpacked their lives culturally. Throughout the dissertation were allusions to the Jewish American experience, and although this was not the focus of the dissertation, their presentations of self in this manner is what drew me to the retired faculty of Brandeis in the first place. Brandeis University, founded in 1948 is the only Jewish-sponsored non-sectarian university in the United States. To close the dissertation I examined the professor's lives and presentations of self as it paralleled the credo of the University. Many of these professors called themselves non-Jewish Jews (Jews by culture, but not practicing in a religious sense). I used the life histories as a way to examine how both ethnic identity and degrees of Jewishness can be negotiated.

A life history is the account of a life completed or, as in this case, ongoing. David Mandelbaum reminds us that, "Such an account obviously involves some kind of selection, since only a very small part of all that the person has experienced can possibly be recorded... but much of any life history has to be chosen for inclusion according to some principles for selection." (1973: 177) That principle of selection has caused many a social scientist a problem. However, whenever folklorists study a singer, a chair maker, or a folk preacher, they find it necessary to contextualize and give some history and geographical background, and some indication of how other fields have chosen to work with these things, as Warren Roberts notes in his introduction to his article on the Turpin family chair makers of southern Indiana:

In this essay I tried to deal with a number of aspects of a particular folk craft rather than focusing on the products of the craft alone. I tried to give as much information as I could find on at least two generations of one family in which chair making was passed from father to son, information gathered from the only written sources I could find, the census and information gathered from living family

members and neighbors who had known the family. I also tried to locate as many chairs as possible that were made by the two generations to describe those design features each family member used as his "signature," and to show how the chairs were made on the basis of interviews with the sons of one of the chair makers, men who helped their father in their youth. I tried likewise to give some history of the chair making and the changes in the milieu that affected the chair designs and the craftsmen. (1988: 75)

Why then, should the subject of life history be any different? Lawrence Watson says, "When all is said and done, the only purpose to which the life history lends itself directly, that is, where it is not used as a basis for inferences tied heavily to external constructs, theories, or measures, is as a commentary of the individual's very personal view of his own experience as he understands it." (1976: 97) Unless I admitted to being subjective in the dissertation, there would have been a problem in inferring constructs for interpreting these lives, something my informants and myself are very much aware of (remember Nathan Alberts' concerns in the opening quote of Chapter One). In talking about these concerns throughout the dissertation, I recognized the collaborative nature of collecting and interpreting life histories and heeded Watson's warning:

With something as alive and vital as a life history document, however, where the individual stands revealed to us by his own choice, we have a natural, self-contained source of information about subjective experience that cries out for understanding. And yet, too often, the integrity of an autobiographical account is violated in the very act of interpretation. (1976: 98)

Thus, my responsibility in understanding life histories properly was to make sure that the final product accurately reflected my understanding of these peoples' lives, given the influences significant in my own background. Life histories in this study captured folklore in everyday life and demonstrated how a life told also plays host to the many genres of folklore exchanged and performed in everyday life.

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1977b The Personal Narrative as Folklore. *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 14:9-30.
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EDUCATION:

Grinnell College, Grinnell, IA, 1977-1981, B.A., (American Studies and French)
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1983-1985, M.A. (Folklore)
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1985-1994, Ph.D. (Folklore and American Studies)
Dissertation Title: "A Life of Any Worth": Life Histories of Retired Brandeis University Faculty

WORK EXPERIENCE:

Associate Professor, Department of American Studies, Sanyo Gakuen Jr. College, Okayama, Japan, 1994-present
Director, Project *Toldot Iowa* (oral histories of Jews in Iowa) 1991-1993
Lecturer, Department of American Studies, Grinnell College, Grinnell, IA, 1991-1993
Instructor, Department of English, IUPUI, Indianapolis, IN, 1988-1990
Instructor, Department of Folklore, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1987, 1989
Faculty Advisor, Collins Living and Learning Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1989
Associate Instructor, American Studies Department, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1986
Archivist, Indiana University Folklore Archives, Bloomington, IN, 1983-1985
Dean's Assistant, Office of Graduate and Foreign Admissions, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 1982-1983

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Program Committee, Grinnell Women Association, 1991-present
Program Committee, Mid-America American Studies Association (MAASA) Meeting, March, 1992
Board Member, Matthew Edel Blacksmith Historical Site Commission, Haverhill, Iowa, 1992-1994
Folklore Specialist, Grinnell's Voices From The Past: The Depression and World War II Oral History Project, Grinnell, Iowa, 1991-1993

Oral historian, Limestone Industry Oral History Project, Monroe
 County Historical Society, Bloomington, Indiana, 1990
 Assistant Director, Smithsonian Summer Institute, 1989
 Research Assistant, Folklore Institute, Folkways record evaluation
 project, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN, 1988
 Assistant Participant Coordinator, Festival of American Folklife,
 Smithsonian Institution, Office of Folklife Programs, Washington,
 D.C., 1988
 Editor, Oral History Research Center Newsletter, Indiana University,
 Bloomington, IN, 1988
 Editor, American Studies Newsletter, Indiana University,
 Bloomington, IN, 1987
 Research Assistant, Oral History Research Center, Indiana University,
 Bloomington, IN, 1985-1989
 Editor, Folklore Forum, 1985-1986
 Folklorist-in-Residence, Putnam County, Indiana, 1984
 Book Review Editor/Translation Editor, Folklore Forum, 1983-1984

FIELDWORK:

1991-1993: Field research into Jewish life and Culture in Iowa.
 1991-1994: Field research into traditional beer brewing traditions of
 home brewers in Grinnell, Iowa.
 1991-1994: Field research into the social/aesthetic organization of a
 weekly knitting group in Grinnell, Iowa.
 1990: Field research into various aspects of the limestone industry
 (cutting, carving and quarrying) in Monroe County, Indiana.
 1988-present: Field research into folkloric communication of life
 histories of retired Brandeis University professors.
 1984: Field research into the traditional arts and practices of Putnam
 County, Indiana residents.

AWARDS:

Indiana University Grant-in-Aid, 1989, \$750.00
 Indiana University Folklore Department Fellowship, 1989, \$1500.00

PUBLICATIONS AND VIDEOTAPES PRODUCED:

"Life History," encyclopedia entry, Garland American Folklore
 Encyclopedia forthcoming 1993
 "Toldot Iowa Diary," Jewish Folklore and Ethnology, Vol. 13, NO 2,
 1991

"Limestone Pieces," directed, edited and researched video for the Monroe County Historical Museum, Bloomington, Indiana, 1990
Academic Memories, co-authored with Mary Deane Sorcinelli and Joan Zirker (Bloomington: Gardner Press), 1988
 Pertev Naili Boratav, "The Folklore of Turkish Immigrant Workers in France," translated by Hanna Griff from French, in Turkish Studies 5, 1985
 "Three Tablespoons of Buttermilk: Folkstyle and Southern Cooking," co-produced, filmed and edited videotape for the Monroe County Public Library Access Channel, 1983

WORKSHOPS ORGANIZED:

Toldot Iowa/Oral History Workshops, 1991-present. I am continually conducting workshops across the state of Iowa in an attempt to stimulate interest within various Iowa Jewish communities to document their own life histories. (Des Moines, Iowa City, Council Bluffs, Sioux City, Davenport)

RECENT PAPERS PRESENTED AT CONFERENCES AND SEMINARS:

"Life History as Truth, Narrative and Performance," chaired session and presented paper at the American Folklore Society Meeting in Eugene, Oregon, 1993
 "The Jewish Experience in Iowa: An Overview," talk given to the United Synagogue Youth on Wheels Tour, in Des Moines, Iowa, 1991
 "Context into Content: the Role of the Ethnographer in Life Histories" paper presented at the American Folklore Society Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1989
 "Family Folklore," lecture for Indiana University Honors Division, Bloomington, IN, 1989
 "Our Food is Mush, Molasses and Bacon: Indiana's Pioneer Foodways," NEH lecture, Bloomington, Indiana, 1988
 "Advice to Live By: A Look at Mothers Advice to Daughters About Men," paper presented at the American Folklore Society Meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1985
 "Oral History of Women in Folklore," paper presented at the American Folklore Society Meeting in Cincinnati, Ohio, 1985

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES TAUGHT:

*Material Culture in America; American Beliefs and Cultural Values;
American Folklore; Introduction to Folklore; Indiana Folklore
and Folklife; American Literature from 1865-1900*

SPECIAL TEACHING INTERESTS:

American Intellectual History, American Folklore and Culture;
Ethnic and Immigrant Literature; Urban Life and Culture;
Popular Culture; Folklore Theory and Technique; American
Literature 1865-present; Oral History Research Methods; Literature
of the Americas; Folk Religion; Comparative Literature

**INDEPENDENT RESEARCH DIRECTED (Indiana University & Grinnell
College)**

Toldot Iowa Folklorist-in-Residence, Sioux City, 1991 (supervised
graduate student from Indiana University Folklore Department)
Toldot Iowa Oral History Team, 1991-present (supervised 15-25
Grinnell College students in collecting oral histories of senior
Jewish Des Moines residents)
"Folk Legend Study in Kansas," 1991
"Museum Practicum/Material Culture," 1991
"Writings By and About Jewish Women in America," 1991
"Indiana Urinalysis," 1989

LANGUAGES:

French and Hebrew

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:

American Folklore Society
American Studies Association
American Jewish Historical Society
Northeast Historic Film Society
Board Member, Jeanne Burkle Women's Center, Grinnell, Iowa

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